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A HUNDRED YEARS OF CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION

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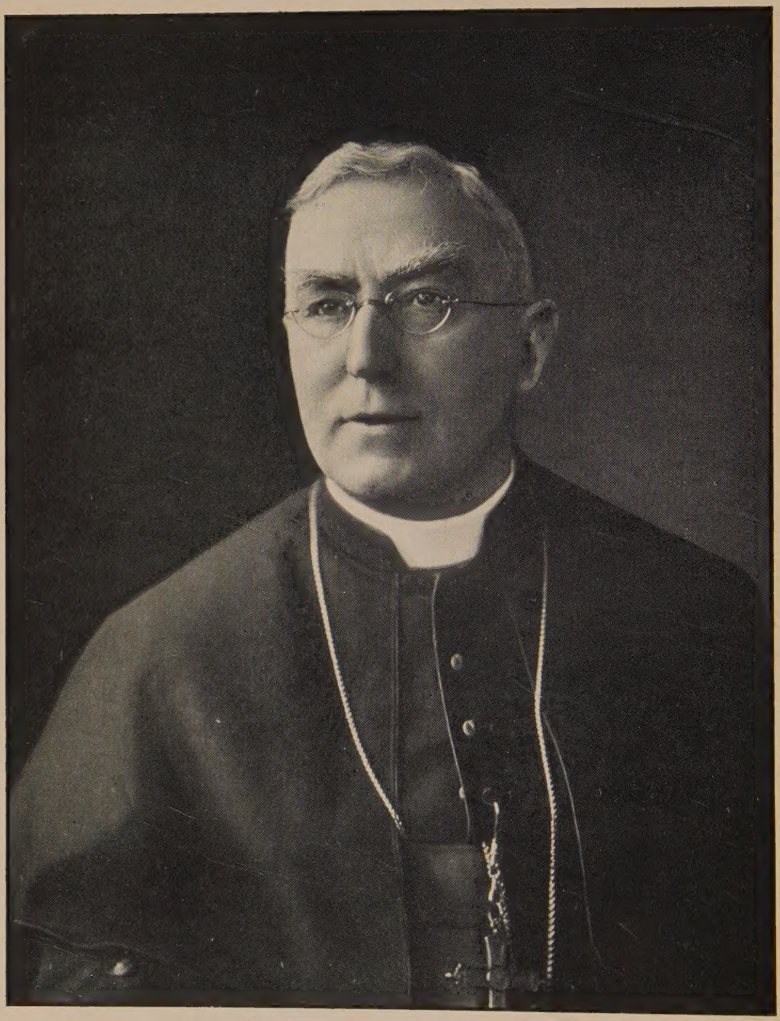

CARDINAL BOURNE

A Hundred Years of Catholic Emancipation

(1829-1929)

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INTRODUCTION

THIS book is offered to the public as no more than a crude attempt to fulfil two objects : to supply for the general reader, who usually has neither time nor opportunity for studying modern history at its sources, a reasonably clear narrative of the principal episodes in the history of Catholicism in England since the passing of Catholic emancipation in 1829 ; and, secondly, to provide a rough analysis of the extraordinary change in the character of the Catholic body in England during the past hundred years. Broadly speaking, the Catholic population of England and Wales has grown within the past century from about 200,000 to considerably over two millions. But the growth is only to a small extent the result of a natural increase of the old Catholic population. The most interesting aspect of Catholic history in England since 1829 is the evolution of a new Catholic democracy, amazingly unlike the small Catholic body which obtained its political rights a hundred years ago as an incidental consequence of the success of O'Connell's democratic agitation in Ireland. The main thesis of this book is to trace that evolution : to show how the Catholic population of England—which in 1829 was still almost entirely dependent upon the old aristocratic families who had maintained their own chaplains and their private chapels through the centuries of persecution—was suddenly invigorated by the accession of a great stream of converts through the Oxford Movement, and then, almost simultaneously,

was overwhelmed by an immense and unceasing immigration of poor Catholics fleeing from the famine in Ireland and from the conditions of destitution which followed it.

The same year, 1845, which saw the submission of Newman to the Catholic Church, and started the exodus of convert " intellectuals " from the Church of England, was the first of the three years of devastating famine in Ireland, which sent literally hundreds of thousands of starving Catholic refugees flocking into England. Both events coincided at a time when the general religious revival throughout Europe had spread to England, and when Wiseman, fresh from the Rectorship of the English College in Rome, had arrived at Oscott inspired by great dreams of the revival of Catholicism in England. Wiseman had said himself, after his first prolonged visit to England, that the English Catholics were only just " emerging from the catacombs." He, and a few friends who shared his dream, had believed that the return of England to Catholicism was to come through the Catholicising of the Established Church by the movement which Newman and Pusey had led at Oxford. They had never thought—although Wiseman himself was the grandson of an Irish merchant who had settled in Spain to escape from the penal laws in his own country—that the expansion of the Catholic Church in England would be chiefly due to a vast immigration from Ireland. At that time, while there were certainly not yet half a million Catholics in England, there were already at least six million Catholics in Ireland. No one foresaw that the whole Irish population would have fallen from over eight to below six millions within a decade, as the result of famine and plague and wholesale emigration. No one could have imagined that, while the Catholic

population of Ireland would continue to decline for the next eighty years — until less than three million Catholics now remain in the country—their dispersion through the English-speaking world would have made the Catholic Church the largest denomination in the United States, would have established a Catholic hierarchy in Australia as well as Canada, and have created an immense Catholic democracy in England.

Later and different changes, scarcely less significant in their consequences, have been gradually working among the Catholic population of England during the last thirty or forty years. But the overwhelmingly Irish character of the Catholic Church in England in the decades after the Irish famine is a matter of history which has been strangely ignored. Cardinal Manning, with his strong instincts towards democracy, but with a no less vigorous sense of English patriotism, has left on record, in the very last entry in the diary which he kept for so many years, his own vivid sense of the realities of the situation. On 9th November 1890—the year after his supreme public triumph in settling the great dockers' strike—he wrote: "How often I have said that my chief sacrifice in becoming Catholic was 'that I ceased to work for the people of England and had thenceforward to work for the Irish occupation of England?'" And four years earlier, after the introduction of Gladstone's first Home Rule Bill, he had written to his future successor, Herbert Vaughan, warning him, as proprietor of the *Tablet*, not to commit himself to any attitude towards the Bill. "The *Tablet* is a Catholic paper," Manning wrote, "and it commits the Catholics of England in the eyes of the world and of the people of Ireland. Eight-tenths of the Catholics of England are Irish. Two-tenths—say two hundred thousand—are English, but a large number are in

sympathy with Ireland." In February 1886 he had written in a similar strain to the newly-appointed Archbishop of Dublin, Dr. Walsh, telling him not to attach too much importance to an attack on the Irish Catholics by the Duke of Norfolk. "In Ireland," wrote Manning, "he will be regarded as the English laity. It is not so. In the time of my predecessor there was a great breach between English and Irish Catholics. For twenty years I have laboured to heal it. It is, unhappily, again open. But the English Catholics are few. The mass of our people are Irish and united with Ireland."

Yet while the vast majority of Catholics in England were Irish, or of immediately Irish descent, from the years after the Irish famine until the end of the century, the control of Catholic affairs remained almost entirely in English hands. The Irish Catholics were no more than the rank and file of a great army, with scarcely more voice in its direction than the Irish Catholic soldiers had in Wellington's army, of which they formed so large a proportion. Even when the great majority of the clergy in England had become Irish, through the founding of so many new missions and parishes, of which Irish priests were the indispensable and devoted pioneers, the hierarchy and the recognised leaders of the Catholic laity were overwhelmingly English. They were, it is true, acutely divided among themselves; for the old Catholics did not for years overcome their natural distrust of the new converts. And before long the converts also were divided into two strongly-opposed sections, with the virile personalities of Newman and Manning in almost constant hostility to each other. Yet even so late as 1867 the conception of a Catholic democracy had scarcely entered into the minds of the rulers of the Church in

England. Manning had then been for two years Archbishop of Westminster, as Cardinal Wiseman's successor, and he was engaged in a determined effort to prevent Newman and his friends from gaining any footing for a Catholic foundation of any sort in Oxford. Mgr. Talbot in Rome—himself a convert like Manning, and typical of so many other aristocrats who had become Catholics — was in constant correspondence with the new Archbishop of Westminster. In a characteristic letter denouncing the alleged machinations of Newman and his followers, he committed himself to a few sentences which illuminate the whole attitude of the leaders who still held an unchallenged authority in English Catholic affairs. "*What is the province of the laity?*" Mgr. Talbot asked, in a rhetorical question. He answered the question himself. "*To hunt, to shoot, to entertain. These matters they understand, but to meddle with ecclesiastical matters they have no right at all.*" It would be hard to find a more amazing example of blindness to what was actually taking place. But for the convert Talbot, no less than for the Catholic gentry in England who had for so many generations regarded the Church almost as their personal estate—since they provided nearly all the chapels and nominated their own priests as private chaplains—it required even yet too great an effort to realise that the Catholic gentry were fast becoming only a small fraction of the laity, and that the vast majority of Catholics in England had never even dreamed of being able "to shoot, to hunt, or to entertain." They would, indeed, have been indescribably scandalised if they had known how utterly remote from all conception of their lives the Pope's English adviser still was.

It was not the least of Cardinal Manning's immense services to Catholicism in England that he broke down

this antiquated conception of a monopoly of influence by the small social group who had lost their former claim to exercise authority over ecclesiastical affairs. During his long rule at Westminster, two changes of incalculable consequence were gradually taking shape. His own personal faith in popular rights and his untiring devotion to the improvement of conditions for the working-classes infused into the mass of the poor Irish Catholics, who formed the great majority of the new democracy, a sense of real confidence in the rulers of the English Church. And at the same time a new generation was arising in which the children of the old Catholic families and of the Oxford converts grew up in the same Catholic schools, and confronted the problems of a greatly changed world without those feelings of mutual distrust and antipathy which had caused so much heart-burning among their fathers. It was not until a later generation again that the Irish Catholics—largely through the growth of trade unionism and the extension of facilities for education among the poor—gradually improved their own social condition and began to acquire a real influence in Catholic affairs. By that time, through long residence in England, through intermarriage with English husbands and wives, through the gradual improvement of Anglo-Irish relations, and because the bitter memories of the famine had already sunk into the past, the Irish Catholics had grown much less distinctively Irish : and they also were amalgamating freely with the two smaller sections of old English Catholics and of recent converts, who had hitherto exercised a monopoly of influence.

To examine that gradual evolution in its broad outlines is one purpose of this book. The story falls naturally into sections which are so extremely unequal that the book must appear to lack any reasonable pro-

portion as a narrative. But the reasons for adopting the arbitrary arrangement which has been followed seem insuperable. Any attempt to adhere to ordinary chronological sequence would have made it impossible to separate the main threads of the story; and the important events which it includes are distributed very unevenly through the period of a hundred years. The first fifteen years, from the Act of Emancipation in 1829 until Wiseman's return from Rome to become President of Oscott, are almost devoid of remarkable incidents, apart from details which it would be impossible to describe in a book of this size. The next five years—from the climax of the Oxford Movement to the restoration of the hierarchy—include practically all the most dramatic events of the whole century: the conversion of Newman and his friends; the missionary work of Father Dominic Barberi in the Potteries; the Irish famine, and the "famine fever" in the northern cities of England; the revolutionary upheavals in Rome and Pius IX's bold challenge from his exile in Gaeta; the restoration of the hierarchy and the Protestant outbursts which it aroused in England; and finally the conversion of Manning. Fifteen more years pass, during which Wiseman is distracted by interminable feuds at Westminster, which are caused partly by the opposition of the old Catholics to his own Italian methods, and still more by their distrust of the converts whom Wiseman entrusts with great authority, in pursuance of his own belief that they are destined to play the leading part in the Catholic revival, and that the old Catholics must be prepared to acknowledge their superior abilities and zeal and stand aside. Newman, in the same period, proceeds from one disappointment to another: convicted and sentenced for his denunciation of the apostate Father Achilli; failing in the

Catholic University in Dublin ; incurring censure for his encouragement of brilliant Catholic laymen like Sir John Acton to establish vigorous Catholic periodicals ; and then seizing his unique chance to capture public attention by the writing of his " Apologia " in reply to Charles Kingsley's insults.

Wiseman dies in 1865, and Manning is appointed directly by the Pope as his successor. The Vatican Council in 1870 defines the Infallibility of the Pope, and raises to its most intense pitch the fundamental conflict of ideas between the Romanising tendencies of Manning and the independent views of Newman, who becomes almost the spokesman of the older English attitude towards Rome. A long period of consolidation and ceaseless activity ensues, which for the most part eludes public attention except for Manning's uncompromising emergence, during his last years, as the champion of the working-class agitation and as the counsellor of Leo XIII in his great Encyclicals on Catholic social reform. His death leaves a gap which is filled with universal approval by a man of much smaller stature, but of boundless energy and zeal. In the appointment of Cardinal Vaughan to Westminster, as head of the English hierarchy, the old English Catholics at last can acclaim one of themselves as the acknowledged leader of the English Church. The twelve years of his rule at Westminster leave little positive mark upon the country beyond the building of Westminster Cathedral, which is all but completed in the last weeks before he dies. But the work of consolidation and expansion, in which he had been Manning's right-hand man, proceeds with increasing success ; and his place is taken at once after his death by the youngest of the Bishops, who has since carried it much further, with prodigious energy and patience and organising

ability during the past twenty-five years. As the son of a convert father and an Irish mother, Cardinal Bourne represents the fusion of the two great forces which have transformed the character of the Church in England.

An immense multitude of new converts has come into the Church in England since the now remote days of the Oxford Movement. The Anglo-Catholic controversies, upon which Wiseman had counted for a rapid conversion of the whole Established Church, have long ceased to be the principal factor in turning men's minds towards the Catholic Church. In the past fifty years it is, indeed, probable that there have been at least as many converts among Nonconformists as among members of the Church of England, while thousands of others have become Catholics who previously had no religious belief whatever. And just as the converts, in so far as they can be still regarded as a separate section, have lost their direct dependence upon the Oxford Movement, so too the Irish Catholics have in most cases drifted far from the self-conscious nationalism of the earlier immigrants. The days of the "Irish exile" have long passed; and a new generation of Anglo-Irish Catholics has grown up who often have no personal Irish associations beyond an Irish name and family. The old divisions in the Catholic body have largely vanished, and intermarriage has hastened the disappearance of old prejudices and antipathies. The traditional ascendancy of the English Catholic aristocracy is a thing of the past; the destitution of the former immigrants is no longer a general characteristic of the Irish Catholics. And through the whole, an immense ramification of convert families has exercised a powerful influence towards fusion and better understanding.

But while the Catholic democracy has thus lost some of its former special characteristics, it has emerged as one of the most coherent factors in the life of the country as a whole. Its foundations are still rooted in the mass of Catholic workers of Irish extraction in all the industrial centres; and their natural instinct towards politics has given them a definite place in the organisation of popular movements. As a factor in modern politics the Catholic vote is to-day, at least potentially, much more important than it has ever been before. In the past it was dominated by its Irish allegiance, and the United Irish League of Great Britain was able to control the greater part of the Catholic vote in most industrial constituencies, in favour of whichever party showed itself ready to adopt Home Rule. The resulting alliance of the Irish Catholics with the Liberals was made extremely anomalous by the conflict between the Catholics and the Liberal education policy. In the last chapter of this book some account is given of the way in which the Irish Parliamentary Party contrived to restrain the Liberal programme so as to prevent injustice to the Catholic schools. Since the Home Rule question has been removed from English politics, however, the Catholic working-class vote has in general transferred its support to the new Labour movement, and its future allegiance remains very problematical, even if it continues to show any political solidarity. Old antipathies, and the long opposition of the Conservative Party to Home Rule, made the bulk of the Catholic voters refuse even to consider supporting it. And in so far as official Conservatism fails to make a bold appeal to the working-classes, there is no likelihood whatever of its attracting the Catholic voters as a whole.

But conditions have changed so swiftly since the

settlement of the Irish question that almost any new allegiance is possible, once the main programme of the Catholic democracy has been formulated. The most immediate question, as always, is the attitude of the State towards the Catholic schools ; but more fundamental issues are already becoming involved, upon which the attitude of each party is still undecided. The Catholic Social Guild has already succeeded in impressing very clearly upon the Catholic electors that a living wage is a fundamental right, and that a family wage not only is equitable, but has been adopted in certain countries. Not many more years of persistent propaganda would be required to make the Catholic working-men insist upon acceptance of these principles as elementary rights. On the cognate questions of divorce and birth restriction, which affect family life very directly, the Catholic attitude has already been expressed at party meetings with striking emphasis. At a recent Labour Party congress, Mr. Jack Jones, M.P., almost provoked a crisis by his vehemence in opposing certain proposals for " birth control " propaganda ; while in the matter of divorce, Mr. Wheatley and other Catholic members effectually prevented the Labour Government from even considering any legislation for increased facilities. On these and other questions—including the right to a living wage—the Catholics in the Labour Party have much in common with the more democratic young Catholic Conservatives, even though they remain poles apart from the older type of Catholic Tory. In the Liberal Party also, when similar attempts have been made to adopt " birth control " propaganda and extended divorce facilities as parts of the official programme, Catholics have made their protests felt with considerable emphasis.

For a century, the Catholic population in England

has been steadily increasing, and its activities have been unceasingly consolidating and extending. A new phase has been reached, within a century after the Emancipation Act, when the coherence of the Catholic body can now count upon enormously greater resources than in the past. Cardinal Bourne, in a recent speech to one of the Catholic societies, described the new situation admirably when he said that the Church in England has entered upon an immensely wider field ; so that where formerly it was necessary to think in terms of thousands of pounds, it is now necessary to think in hundreds of thousands, and it will before long be necessary to think in millions. In the last chapter of this book some of the most striking advances in Catholic organisation during Cardinal Bourne's own twenty-five years of rule at Westminster are briefly indicated. Two instances may be quoted here as illustrations of the general tendency. The Catholic Truth Society, after a tentative and abortive beginning, originated by Cardinal Vaughan before he had become Bishop of Salford, has of late been able to develop its work so rapidly that for several years its actual sale of pamphlets has exceeded a million copies within twelve months. A similar expansion has been evident in the circulation of the *Universe*, which under the direction of a courageous and enterprising proprietor has attained the enormous sale of 100,000 copies a week. No other religious denomination in Great Britain has ever before been able to reach such totals ; and both the Catholic Truth Society and the *Universe* have surpassed all previous records in the regular sale—apart from any free distribution—of their publications.

Such achievements are, of course, the direct outcome of a continuous increase in the size of the Catholic

community in Great Britain, and of the progressive improvement in its resources and organisation. Three distinct factors have combined to make the Catholic population increase, while that of other denominations steadily diminishes. The stream of converts to Catholicism, which began with the small group of " Cambridge converts " before the much larger and more important secessions through the Oxford Movement, continues in substantial though not in increasing numbers. An average total of some 12,000 converts is recorded in the diocesan returns from year to year. Reinforcing this uninterrupted accession of new converts, whose children usually follow them into the Church, there is still a steady and continual influx of Catholic immigrants from Ireland and from other Catholic countries. Much of the Church extension work in recent years owes a great deal to the generous assistance of prosperous Catholics from Holland, France, Germany, the United States, and especially South America; while new parishes have in many cases been composed at first chiefly of immigrant labourers from Ireland and from the Continent.

But the most important cause of Catholic expansion in Great Britain has undoubtedly been the prevalence of large families among the Catholic poor. The difference in birth-rate between the Catholic population and that of other denominations has in recent years produced frequent expressions of panic among those who regard Catholicism with special distrust. Dean Inge, as the most vigorous exponent of this attitude, stated his case with customary frankness when he said that he was not afraid of Catholic propaganda, but he was afraid of Catholic propagation. His famous phrase about the " reckless spawning " of the Catholics in French Canada was only typical of many similar expressions

about the Irish Catholics in Great Britain. In Scotland, where the Irish immigration has been most extensive since the War, there have been many cries of special alarm. In July last a deputation of clergymen of the three principal Protestant denominations in Scotland even waited solemnly upon the Home Secretary to protest that the Irish immigration threatened to change the " native character " of the Scottish people. But it was not so much the actual immigration as the natural increase of Catholic large families that filled them with dismay. Between 1881 and 1901, the deputation pointed out, the Irish population in Scotland had increased by thirty-two-and-a-half per cent., in contrast with an increase of eigthteen-and-a-half per cent. of " native Scotsmen " ; while between 1901 and 1921 the increase of Irish population in Scotland was thirty-nine per cent. as compared with only six per cent. of native Scots. It is not easy to see how such protests can be acted upon, since the restriction upon immigration into Scotland would naturally require similar restrictions upon Scottish immigration into England. But even if such restrictions could be imagined, the main problem remains, and it is only rather more acute in Scotland than in parts of England. The simple fact is that Catholics have refused to adopt the practice of artificial birth restriction, which has become so increasingly prevalent among the rest of the population that the English birth-rate has lately fallen below that of any country in Europe. The uncompromising condemnation of artificial birth restriction by the Catholic Church cannot conceivably be modified ; and so long as the Church maintains its normal authority over the Catholics of Great Britain, there is every reason to expect that the high Catholic birth-rate will continue with very little diminution.

The question involves many extremely interesting possibilities ; for it is not only the moral discipline of Catholicism, but the whole Catholic outlook upon life, that prevents modern birth control propaganda from making headway even among the poorest Catholics, upon whom the burden of large families falls most heavily. A different sense of values, which attaches more importance to the fundamental realities of life than to its material comforts, produces among Catholics an attitude towards family life which remains steadfast against all the neo-malthusian propaganda. The practical consequences of this contrast have already produced a very remarkable situation. It is a commonplace of all economic history that, when once the national birth-rate begins to fall suddenly through the adoption of artificial birth control, a general weakening of the nation's moral fibre sets in, and only the more hardy and more hopeful elements retain their former rate of natural increase. The " survival of the fittest " becomes a question of survival by those who have kept their faith in the value of life itself ; while the more sophisticated and pleasure-loving drift inevitably towards race suicide. It is difficult to avoid believing that these conditions, so familiar to all students of economic history, have already begun to operate in England. If that be the case, indeed, then the future of the Catholic Church in Great Britain is immeasurably strengthened by a new factor, as unexpected as was the immense immigration of Irish Catholics during the years of the great famine eighty years ago. If the statistics quoted by the deputation of Scottish Protestant clergymen are even roughly near the truth, the process is already at work with immensely significant results in Scotland. There is ample evidence of a similar process in the north of England as well. The

Catholics, by continuing to have large families when the rest of the people are rapidly adopting birth control, are year by year increasing in proportion to the whole population. In an age of universal suffrage, and of popular institutions, the argument of numbers is unanswerable ; and in time the Catholics can count upon gaining a much stronger influence than they have today—not only in all public life, but in the vital question of primary education.

It is too early yet, however, to foresee the ultimate balance of population in the country. With unemployment still so large, it would seem that emigration must be encouraged much further as an urgent necessity, if economic prosperity is not to be retarded forever by the dead weight of such chronic charges for poor relief. And of all classes of the population, the Irish Catholics have always been the most mobile and most willing to seek new opportunities abroad. If economic conditions in England become such as to restrict the natural scope for family life, they may be expected to emigrate in great numbers to the Dominions and to the New World, as their grandfathers emigrated before them. Alike in emigration, and in the reconstruction of economic life in England, the Catholic working-classes may be expected to play an increasingly active part. And the same Irish diaspora, which has made the Catholics of America by far the largest single denomination in the United States, and is steadily producing a similar result already in Australia and New Zealand—as well as reinforcing the French Catholics of Canada until practically half the population of Canada is now Catholic—may be expected to survive and multiply under almost any conditions, whether in England or in other parts of the British Commonwealth.

Such, indeed, is the strange and paradoxical prospect

of the Catholic Church in the British Empire in the year which witnesses the centenary of Catholic Emancipation. In offering to the public this survey of a hundred years, I wish to make full acknowledgment of my obligations to the biographers of the principal figures in the Catholic revival. No one can write concerning the modern history of Catholicism in England without becoming deeply indebted to the few brilliant historians who have been entrusted, for the benefit of the general public, with the confidential papers upon which their biographies and history are based. The late Wilfrid Ward especially is the indispensable authority for most of the dramatic part of the period under review. From his great biographies of Cardinal Wiseman, Cardinal Newman, and his father, W. G. Ward, I have had to derive many of the letters and other documents in which I have attempted to make the principal actors tell the story in their own words. His brother, the late Bishop Bernard Ward, who had written the history of the preceding period even more exhaustively in five large volumes, did not live to carry the story further than the restoration of the hierarchy in 1850, in his two supplementary volumes on *The Sequel to Catholic Emancipation*. But the immediately subsequent period has been covered with masterly erudition and lucidity by Abbot Butler's *Life of Bishop Ullathorne*. Later again, two indispensable sources of information are Mr. Purcell's much criticised *Life of Cardinal Manning*, and the more recent corrective to it, in Mr. Shane Leslie's biography—to which I am particularly indebted for his detailed account of Manning's part in settling the great London dock strike, concerning which Purcell says surprisingly little. One more biography, Mr. Snead Cox's *Life of Cardinal Vaughan*, must also be acknowledged gratefully as the principal source

from which one of my chapters has been written. But these various biographies, nearly all of which run to two large volumes, which would together fill a large shelf in any library, are only the most important sources from which any modern writer has to draw his materials for a study of the past hundred years. The lives of Gladstone, Dilke, W. T. Stead and many other Victorian notabilities are full of matter which cannot be ignored, to say nothing of the biographies of such well-known Catholics as Ambrose Phillips de Lisle, Frederick Lucas, Father Dominic Barberi, Father Faber, Father Charles Plater and Father Bernard Vaughan. Other books also must be mentioned, such as Mr. Burke's *Catholic History of Liverpool*, or the late Mr. Percy Fitzgerald's entertaining *Fifty Years of Catholic Life and Progress*; a dozen or so books and studies which centre round the social work of Cardinal Manning; and such illuminating records as Father Philip Fletcher's *Recollections of a Ransomer*; in addition to the annual volumes of the *Catholic Directory*, and the various publications connected with the National Catholic Congresses in the past twenty years.

To all these and other sources of information I wish to make full acknowledgment, and particularly to Messrs. Longmans and Messrs. Burns, Oates & Washbourne as the publishers of the most important biographies concerned, upon which I have had to draw most deeply. But to a new generation which knows very little of the life and work of Wiseman or Newman, or even Manning and Cardinal Vaughan, these large biographies are scarcely obtainable, and very few have either the leisure or the inclination to read them. This book is an attempt to recall the whole story in which they played such dominating parts; and to revive, in the year which celebrates the centenary of Catholic

Emancipation, the memory of a noble succession of Catholic leaders and pioneers in England during the past hundred years, whose personalities and achievements are little more than a vague legend to the new generation.

To Father Joseph Leonard, C.M., of St Mary's College, Twickenham, I am deeply indebted for his kindness in reading the book in proof, and for suggesting a number of important corrections. For the opinions or interpretations of fact contained in the book the responsibility is entirely mine.

Map to illustrate distribution of Catholics in each county of England and Wales, based on the estimated figures given in the Catholic Directory for 1929.

Liverpool	374,000	Shrewsbury	79,000
Salford	295,000	Middlesbrough	56,000
Westminster	260,000	Portsmouth	53,000
Hexham and Newcastle	220,000	Nottingham	51,000
Southwark	180.000	Brentwood	47,000
Leeds	155,000	Clifton	28,000
Birmingham	130,000	Plymouth	21,000
Lancaster	91,000	Northampton	20,000
Cardiff	86,000	Menevia	12,000

CHAPTER I

THE OLD CATHOLICS

WITHIN twelve months of the passing of Wellington's Catholic Emancipation Act in April 1829, a succession of events had made great changes in the picture which a previous generation had known. Pope Leo XII had died in February, when Peel and Wellington were still engaged in their last efforts to overcome the resistance of the King. On 31st March his successor, Pius VIII, was elected, and the bishops' pastorals in England and Ireland that followed immediately upon the passing of the Emancipation Act were almost exclusively occupied with announcing the election of the new Pope. A year later, in June 1830, George IV also disappeared from the scenes. A new era, in which so many old landmarks were to vanish, had already dawned ; and the Reform Bill of 1832 was to introduce a new chapter in English history, which before long had broken down the old monopoly of political power held by the landed aristocracy.

But among the English Catholics the feudal tradition of aristocratic leadership endured long after the Reform Bill. In Ireland, the aristocracy had lost their original direction of the Catholic movement for more than a generation—from the time when Lord Kenmare and his friends, in 1792, had seceded from the Catholic committee, in fear at the demands for an aggressive policy by the Dublin silk-mercer, John Keogh. O'Connell, in the generation after, had developed the democratic

agitation to an extent which Keogh had never contemplated, by enrolling the entire Catholic peasantry in his Catholic Association, and by finally encouraging the peasant voters to use their political power in unseating the representatives of the Protestant ascendancy. But in England the situation had always been quite different during all the efforts to abolish the penal code. Whereas in Ireland the overwhelming majority of the people had been Catholic, and the overthrow of the penal code had involved the first principles of popular government; in England, the Catholics were only a very small and scattered remnant among a great Protestant population. Under such conditions, no popular Catholic agitation could possibly have arisen. But the peculiar circumstances of the English Catholics gave to the gentry a special claim upon the allegiance of the poorer Catholics which can scarcely be appreciated now. Through the centuries of Catholic persecution in England, it was the gentry who alone succeeded in keeping the faith alive. It was they who maintained the priests who were hunted, in constant danger of their lives; who hid the clergy in their own houses, when even to assist in sheltering them involved penalties that ranged from fines and confiscation of property to death and torture; who provided the secret rooms in their houses or outbuildings where Mass was still said through the most savage years of persecution; and who gathered around them small groups of Catholic servants and retainers, and gave facilities to their own personal chaplains for conducting missions wherever scattered Catholics were still to be found.

Not until the English Catholic Relief Act of 1791 was it made legal for Catholic churches to be built, though in a number of places certain buildings were already in constant use as chapels without molestation. The

result was to some extent to lessen the former direct dependence of the Catholics generally upon the great houses. It is to the credit of the Catholic landowners, who were chiefly responsible for the Bill, that they appreciated this effect of their own work, and welcomed it. Lord Petre, for instance—who was the most conspicuous example of those Catholic aristocrats who considered that the laity ought to have a deciding voice in various ecclesiastical matters—was among the first subscribers to the building of a chapel in Monmouth, and wrote to the coadjutor of Bishop Walmesley, who had been one of his chief opponents, that "the collecting of the Catholics into towns in place of straggling missions has always been a measure much recommended by me. On these, now legal, establishments, the Catholic religion must ultimately depend. The middling classes will find themselves more independent. . . . I, therefore, willingly subscribe."

Great changes had taken place during nearly forty years between the writing of that letter and the passing of the Emancipation Act in 1829, long after Lord Petre's death. The industrial revolution had caused a steadily increasing drift of the people into new factory towns. The whole population had multiplied rapidly, and was further augmented by a gradual infiltration of poor labourers from Ireland—where the population on the miserable small farms of the western seaboard had increased with an unprecedented rapidity since the Napoleonic wars. New groups of Catholics were forming in the new cities of England, who were as yet unorganised and desperately poor, and who most often had no priests to minister to them. But throughout the rest of England the conditions were still practically the same as before. The gentry still provided their own chaplains to conduct the work of missions among

scattered Catholics throughout large districts; and while the gentry were still in a position to choose their own chaplains, the Catholics everywhere around them recognised their own dependence upon the fidelity and the generosity of the great houses for the very existence of the Church in most parts of England. As yet, there was no question of Catholic affairs being directed, or even influenced, by anyone other than the small group of Catholic landowners who had constituted the self-appointed Catholic committee and had conducted all the negotiations with successive Governments. It was only natural, when such conditions had continued for centuries, that the Catholic gentry should regard their position as a heritage that would never be challenged; it was scarcely surprising that they had refused to allow the clergy even to be members of the original Catholic committee; and that they had adopted an attitude of aggrieved resentment when the vicars-apostolic denounced the oaths of allegiance and other concessions which they had themselves agreed upon in negotiation with Ministers.

No clearer picture of the condition of the English Catholics in the early 'thirties could be given than is contained in a passage in Newman's famous sermon on the "Second Spring," preached after the restoration of the hierarchy in 1850. Looking back to the days before his own conversion to Catholicism, he recalled how "*you* have seen it on one side, and some of us on another; but one and all of us can bear witness to the fact of the utter contempt into which Catholicism had fallen by the time that we were born. . . . No longer the Catholic Church in the country; nay, no longer, I may say, a Catholic community; but a few adherents of the Old Religion, moving silently and sorrowfully about, as memorials of what had been. 'The Roman

Catholics ' ; not a sect, not even an interest, as men conceived of it—not a body, however small, representative of the great communion abroad—but a mere handful of individuals, who might be counted, like the pebbles and the *detritus* of the great deluge, and who, forsooth, merely happened to retain a creed which, in its day, indeed, was the profession of a Church. Here a set of poor Irishmen, coming and going at harvest time, or a colony of them lodged in a miserable quarter of the vast metropolis. There, perhaps an elderly person, seen walking in the streets, grave and solitary and stranger, though noble in bearing, and said to be of good family, and a ' Roman Catholic.' An old-fashioned house of gloomy appearance, closed in with high walls, with an iron gate, and yews, and the report attaching to it that ' Roman Catholics ' lived there ; but who they were, or what they did, or what was meant by calling them Roman Catholics, no one could tell ; though it had an unpleasant sound, and told of form and superstition. And then, perhaps, as we went to and fro, looking with a boy's curious eyes through the great city, we might come to-day upon some Moravian chapel, or Quaker's meeting-house, and to-morrow on a chapel of the ' Roman Catholics ' ; but nothing was to be gathered from it, except that there were lights burning there, and some boys in white, swinging censers ; and what it all meant could only be learned from books, from Protestant histories and sermons ; and they did not report well of ' the Roman Catholics,' but, so the country deposed, that they had once had power and had abused it. And then, again, we might, on one occasion, have it pointedly put out by some literary man, as the result of his careful investigation, and as a recondite point of information, which few knew, that there was this difference between

the Roman Catholics of England and the Roman Catholics of Ireland, that the latter had bishops, and the former were governed by four officials, called vicars-apostolic.

"Such was the sort of knowledge possessed of Christianity by the heathen of old time, who persecuted its adherents from the face of the earth, and then called them a *gens lucifuga*, a people who shunned the light of day. Such were Catholics in England, found in corners, and alleys, and cellars, and the housetops, or in the recesses of the country; cut off from the populous world around them, and dimly seen, as if through a mist or in twilight, as ghosts flitting to and fro, by the high Protestants, the lords of the earth. At length, so feeble did they become, so utterly contemptible, that contempt gave birth to pity; and the more generous of their tyrants actually began to wish to bestow on them some favour, under the notion that their opinions were simply too absurd even to spread again, and that they themselves, were they but raised in civil importance, would soon unlearn and be ashamed of them. And thus, out of mere kindness to us, they began to vilify our doctrines to the Protestant world, that so our very idiotcy or our secret unbelief might be our plea for mercy."

To the non-Catholic the remoteness and isolation of the English Catholics was constantly apparent. They were still almost conspicuous by their absence from the public life of the country, before they gradually began to assume the active and distinguished part to which their social influence and their political integrity amply entitled them. But even the mere thought of Catholics entering public life, once the Catholic Emancipation Act had been passed, already aroused fear in the more strict among the clergy. Their views were ex-

pressed, with a definiteness which seems startling a hundred years later, by Bishop Bramston, the Vicar-Apostolic of the London District. His pastoral letter, issued for the New Year of 1830, was nothing less than a solemn warning to English Catholics to avoid the dangers to their faith which might be involved in close association with the public life of a Protestant country. "The present era," he wrote, "is new and most important to the Catholics of this island. Whilst they are by the wisdom and bounty of the Legislature placed civilly and politically on a level with their fellow-subjects, they may be liable to be thrown into situations where, rather than before, the maxims of the world may endanger the steady practice of their holy religion. Hence it would seem that they ought to be exhorted to have a truly religious guard, that the temporal advantages which they now enjoy do not lead to a forgetfulness of their eternal interests, and that in the present circumstances, more than ever heretofore, they should continually put to themselves the Divine interrogation, '*What will it avail a man to gain the whole world and lose his own soul?*' Those in the higher sphere of life will naturally wish to avail themselves of their freedom from past disabilities by the employment of the talents they may possess for the benefit of their country. Hence, places and offices of high trust and important dignity may be looked for by them, and justly and religiously, too, if the service of their country be, indeed, their principal object. But it is far otherwise if the passion of ambition or the thirst of worldly lucre be their leading motive. . . . But, while you may with all virtuous propriety accept of any office, place, trust or dignity to which your talents may deem to entitle you, you are earnestly exhorted to remember ever, and now more than ever, that it is your greatest

glory and highest interest to be members *of the one fold of the one shepherd*."

It was not only to the " higher orders of your communion "—to whom the pastoral was apparently addressed in the first instance—that this stern moralist addressed his urgent episcopal warnings. " The disabilities from which you have been relieved," he insisted, " reach to others professing the Roman Catholic religion in the inferior walks of life. To these will be opened various situations where many and very dangerous temptations may assail them. In such situations they may be exposed to be corrupted by bribery, and by taking or allowing others to take false, unlawful and unnecessary oaths, and prompted to all this by avaricious feelings and the plea of custom. But be it known to them that no custom can be pleaded against faith and justice. Those principles are eternal and must be observed by all who look forward to the glory of Heaven." The time was to come, within half a century, when no bishop in England would have ever dreamt of issuing such an amazing document, addressed directly to the English landowners and referring to the " inferior orders " as though the bishop and the gentry were discussing them as a class apart. But this pastoral, written by an intensely devout bishop of very simple views, who was as anxious to restrain the alleged ambition of the aristocracy as to warn the " inferior orders " of their temptations to sell their religious convictions for bribes, is extraordinarily illuminating as evidence of the prevailing atmosphere at the time.

" You of every rank," he continued, " are to be warned, moreover, that you may probably be thrown into a different order of intercourse and association from that to which you have hitherto been accustomed, and on this account you may be forced to mix with

persons unhappily impressed with the false philosophy, or rather irreligion and infidelity, with which the world is in these days so lamentably infected. You are not called upon to be preachers or fiery disputants, but you are called upon and warmly exhorted to express sentiments and to exhibit practices in entire opposition to the evil spirit which is abroad. Heretofore, living in comparative separation and exclusion from the pomps and vanities of the world, you may now be cast more immediately within the vortex of that unhappy world. What, then, should you do? Allow your hearts and minds to be purged by bad example to yield to the destructive maxims of the world, and so relax by fatal degrees in the virtuous and pious practices of your religion? Or, to stem the torrent of delusion and corruption, ought you not to increase your attention and the regularity of your observance to the duties of prayer, pious reading, and serious reflection on the saving truths and holy maxims of the Gospel? Ought you not to be more diligent and devout frequenters of the Holy Sacrament of Penance and the Eucharist? And bearing in mind the Divine admonition that evil communications are the corrupters of virtue, ought you not to observe a more steady watchfulness over all your thoughts, words, actions and impressions?

"What could possibly be more gratifying," asked the good bishop in conclusion, "than the conviction that your talents, your learning, your integrity and exertions cause you not only to be eligible, but to be elected to places of trust, emoluments, honour and dignity, and that in all the various situations and offices to which you may be chosen you may prove to your fellow-citizens that you were worthy of their choice, and that a rightly-believing and rightly-practising Catholic is of all men most trustworthy. May the bounty and

goodness of Almighty God pour down upon you every temporal blessing; and may every temporal blessing, by your virtue and piety, be the means tending to your bliss and glory for all eternity."

Reading that pastoral in the light of after events, it becomes less difficult to understand the continual conflict which persisted between the more active leaders of the Catholic committee and the vicars-apostolic, who were more concerned to preserve the devout traditions of an oppressed Catholic minority than to join with them in asserting their civil rights as loyal subjects. There was a definite antipathy between the two points of view. While the bishops generally were most anxious to secure freedom of religious worship and the right to build churches and conduct schools, and to receive endowments that would ensure their continuance and development, the leaders of the laity were much more immediately concerned with the removal of political and civil disabilities.

A generation had passed since the very acute conflict, before the Relief Bill of 1791, between the bishops and the Catholic committee. But the traditions of the laity were still strong, and in the controversy over Grattan's abortive Relief Bill in 1813 the conflict had broken out again over a similar question of principle. The divergence of view was rooted in the political and social history of the eighteenth century. The founders of the first Catholic committee represented a generation which had completely outgrown all sympathy with the Stuart cause and was desperately anxious to vindicate the loyalty of English Catholics to the House of Hanover. Looking back, they had come to feel that the distrust of Catholics in England need never have continued for so long if the Holy See, and the bishops in England, had not persisted in the hope of a restoration

of the Stuarts, and in giving active support to their discredited cause. They had come to regard the Church itself as being largely the cause—through its misguided interference in politics—of the humiliation and persecution that Catholics still endured. And towards the end of the eighteenth century the more active leaders of the Catholic laity—who actually possessed a wholly abnormal influence over all ecclesiastical affairs through the fact that they appointed and maintained almost all the clergy—had definitely made up their minds to dissociate themselves clearly from the suspicion of being subservient in political matters to Rome.

It was this determination to demonstrate their independence of Roman interference that inspired the title of the famous Cisalpine Club. And the same anxiety to prove their identity of interests with the rest of the English gentry was the cause of their extraordinary eagerness to place themselves on the same footing as the dissenters in regard to Parliament and the King. They not only accepted, but formally recommended and welcomed, the preposterous designation of " Protesting Catholic Dissenters," which was to have been given, by the Relief Act of 1791, to Papists who took the oath of allegiance which they had approved and which the vicars-apostolic twice condemned. The term Papist—with its associations which we now regard as so honourable—was under existing circumstances a constant source of exasperation to them, for it connoted an attitude towards politics which they abhorred. Some of them went to almost incredible lengths in the endeavour to prove that they " protested " against interference by Rome as much as any English Protestant ; and Sir John Throckmorton was by no means alone in holding the view, which he boldly stated

in print, that the English Catholics would not have the smallest hesitation in allowing the Government to appoint all the Catholic bishops. A number of influences had thus converged in creating a most peculiar attitude of antagonism towards Rome among the English laity : the belief that the Church, by misunderstanding English politics, had in the past brought upon the English Catholics a by no means unfounded suspicion of disloyalty towards the House of Hanover ; the fact that the laity controlled the appointment of the clergy, and were to an almost unprecedented extent masters of the administration of the Church ; the fact that there was no proper hierarchy, and that the four vicars-apostolic could not claim the usual authority which resides in the bishops of clearly specified dioceses. And perhaps even more powerful as a cause of unrest was the prevalent wave of reaction from Rome towards nationalism over Europe, which encouraged a challenge at every point towards the claims of the Holy See—a challenge which was vigorously active in other Catholic countries, but which for special reasons was most likely to gain support in England, where the laity exercised an extraordinary ascendancy over Church affairs as a result of their own fidelity, which alone had kept the faith alive, and where the laity considered that Roman interference in politics had been disastrous to the Church.

It is necessary to emphasise this background to the new situation which had provoked Bishop Bramston's warning and discouraging pastoral. His attitude was inevitably resented by the more enterprising spirits among the laity ; and within the following decade it had become impossible for any bishop to hold aloof from the general advance of the English Catholics out of their obscurity which was made possible by the Act

of 1829. But the tradition of timidity and self-consciousness was still a considerable factor for many years. There is, indeed, a remarkable contrast between this timorous and apprehensive outlook of Bishop Bramston upon the new era, which the Act of 1829 had opened after so many years of effort, and the joint pastoral issued a month later by the Irish hierarchy. To them, as to all Irish Catholics, the Emancipation Act was the triumph of a cause in which many noble spirits had been broken, and many more had suffered persecution and imprisonment. They made no secret of their own deeply affectionate gratitude to Daniel O'Connell as the chief organiser and author of emancipation. "The great boon became the more acceptable to this country," they wrote, "because among the counsellors of His Majesty there appeared the most conspicuous of Ireland's sons—a hero and a legislator—a man selected by the Almighty to break the rod which had scourged Europe—a man raised up by Providence to confirm thrones, to re-establish altars, to direct the councils of England at a crisis the more difficult, and to staunch the blood and heal the wounds of the country which gave him birth. An enlightened and wise Parliament," they continued (though surely not without conscious irony, in view of the notorious reluctance with which Parliament had given way), "perfected what the sovereign and his counsellors commenced, and already the efforts of their wisdom and justice are visible and duly appreciated by all the wise and good. The storm which almost wrecked the country had subsided, whilst social order, with peace and justice in her train, prepared to establish her sway in this long-distracted country.

"Labour, therefore, in all things," the Irish bishops continued, "to promote the end which the Legislature

contemplated in passing this Bill for your relief, to wit, for the pacification and improvement of Ireland. Let religious discord cease—let party feuds and civil dissensions be heard no more—let rash and unjust and illegal oaths be not even named amongst you ; and if sowers of discord and sedition should attempt to trouble your repose, seek for a safeguard against them in the protection afforded by the law." For themselves, the Irish bishops proposed forthwith to abstain from any further participation in political matters—" a duty imposed on us by a state of times which has passed, but a duty—which we have gladly relinquished in the fervent hope that by us or by our succession it may not be resumed." To the Irish Catholics, the Act of 1829 had been the opening of the Promised Land. To Bishop Bramston in the London district it was the beginning of new fears. He was old in years, though he had only recently succeeded to the position of vicar-apostolic ; and within eight years he was in his grave. But his views were all the more remarkable—as those of a convert to Catholicism educated outside the narrow atmosphere of the old Catholic families of England, and, as a graduate of Cambridge, less inclined than they, by his past training, to adopt a timid view of the results of participation in the national life.

But a new generation was gradually arising which, in the years after the Reform Bill, was to confront a very much altered situation with a more virile point of view. The admission of Catholics to Parliament had for the time being made very little difference, beyond satisfying the claims to social and political equality which had for so many years weighed upon the minds of the Catholic aristocracy. The Duke of Norfolk and a handful of other Catholic peers had gained the right to sit in the House of Lords ; his son, together with eight or nine

other Catholic gentlemen, had obtained seats in the House of Commons, either by straightforward election or by the fact that their families still controlled the representation of certain pocket boroughs. These few Catholic legislators were all Whigs by tradition, and the Catholic members of Parliament remained Whig for long afterwards. In public life they did little more, in fact, than demonstrate how baseless had been the old fears of what would result from admitting Catholics to Parliament. They were so determined to prove their own loyalty and respectability, and their desire to uphold the existing constitution, that there was no possibility of their undertaking any active organisation or movement as a separate Catholic group. Such an attitude on their part was inevitable, in view of their traditions and of the conflict which had preceded the vindication of their rights.

It was not the newly emancipated laity, but a great ecclesiastic, whose name was still unknown in England, who was to lead the Catholic Church forward in England in a grand and spectacular advance. It was not the old Catholics, but the new converts, who did not yet dream that they would have become Catholics within a few years, who were to galvanise Catholicism in England into a vital and expanding force. In Rome, two famous ecclesiastics had already made their mark: Bishop Weld, who was before long to be made the first English cardinal for several centuries, and Mgr. Acton, who was to attain the same dignity after Cardinal Weld's death. But much greater than they, and still only a young man in his twenty-eighth year when Catholic emancipation was enacted, Dr. Wiseman had already succeeded to the Rectorship of the English College in Rome, after a brief period as a brilliant professor of Oriental studies. He had not long carried his

new dignity when he was called upon as Rector of the English College to be the messenger who had to convey the great news of Catholic emancipation to the newly-elected Pope.

It was paradoxical that Nicholas Wiseman should have become the head of the English College in Rome ; and his peculiar training and antecedents were to have a profound effect in later years upon the development of the Catholic body in England. Wiseman, though he always regarded himself as an Englishman, was the son of Irish parents. His grandfather had been a Catholic tradesman in Waterford in the years when the penal laws produced a wholly unexpected result in the rise of a new class of prosperous Catholic merchants. Their activities could not be controlled or restricted even by the elaborate and carefully-planned contrivance of the penal code ; and they gradually built up a flourishing direct trade between Ireland and the Catholic countries of the Continent. It was this new merchant class who, almost alone, had the courage to join the early pioneers in organising the first Irish Catholic Association, and who provided money with exemplary generosity for the propaganda and the litigation which, in the beginning, were all that the oppressed Irish Catholics could attempt. But James Wiseman, like many others of the new merchant class, had left Ireland to find more tolerable and civilised conditions of life in Spain, and he conducted his trade in Irish produce from there. His son, James, became a Spanish merchant in Seville ; and from his second marriage, with a daughter of the Strange family of Aylwardstown Castle, Co. Kilkenny, there was born, in 1802, the future Archbishop of Westminster. The younger James Wiseman died three years later, and the future archbishop was brought back to Ireland as

a child by his mother, and received his early schooling at a boarding-school in Waterford, where he first learnt to speak English as fluently as Spanish. At eight years old he was sent to Ushaw College, in Durham, where he acquired the traditions of one of the most honourable of the old English Catholic schools. He was sixteen and still a schoolboy there when the Pope decided to act upon Cardinal Consalvi's recommendation and attempt to revive the English College in Rome, which had been closed since the invasion by the French in 1798. Young Nicholas Wiseman was selected as one of the group of candidates for the priesthood who were sent from Ushaw and other colleges to be pupils at the re-opened college in Rome. For six years he studied there, until his ordination in 1825. Two years later he was nominated as its Vice-Rector, and in the following year he succeeded to the Rectorship, on the appointment of Dr. Gradwell to a bishopric.

In the next chapter it will be necessary to describe the influences which had so marked an effect on Wiseman's character during his long residence in Rome, and his personal acquaintance with the leaders of the contemporary religious revival throughout Europe. He was already inspired and dominated by the ideals that animated the leaders of the Catholic revival in France and Germany when he returned to England for a protracted visit in 1835. His impressions of the English Catholics, as he found them during his stay in England for more than a year, convey vivid glimpses of the conditions which still prevailed. He set out deliberately to ascertain all that he could of Catholic life in the country, and resolved that wherever he went he would " quarter himself upon such of the nobility or gentry of these realms " as would offer him hospitality. He summed up his main impression afterwards

in the simple phrase that the Catholics "had just emerged from the Catacombs." "Their shackles had been removed, but not the numbness and cramp which they had produced." Both they and the Protestant community were, he found, "still acutely aware of the quite recent condition of things where one portion of the same community was a suppliant to the other for common rights"; and while one side still felt "the pride of having refused or having granted," the Catholics were still painfully conscious of "the humiliation of having long been spurned, and at last almost compulsorily relieved." Travelling from house to house, inquiring with diligent sympathy in a determination to understand the whole mentality and tradition of the English Catholic body, whose sons were committed to his own care in Rome, Wiseman learned many stories at first hand of persecutions and penalties which had been borne by men with whom he talked, or who could convey the picture to him from incidents within the living memory of their own families.

And while this year of journeying through England brought Wiseman, with his cosmopolitan training and his Roman enthusiasm, into direct contact with the old English Catholics, it gave him for the first time a sudden realisation of the great religious upheaval that was already taking place in England. As the friend of Lacordaire and Ozanam, he had dreamed of a Catholic revival, though there seemed to be no apparent means by which it should arise. In England he now met men who actually talked as confidently of the imminent conversion of England to Catholicism as certain zealous Catholics still talk of it to-day. Everywhere he found a profound dissatisfaction with the Established Protestant Church, and a widespread conviction that it had so disintegrated that it could scarcely

survive at all through another generation. He was so encouraged that he undertook to give a series of public lectures in London, addressed to Protestants as well as Catholics, on the revival of Catholicism in Europe. Their success was immediate, and he repeated it several times with other lectures, which drew always larger audiences and attracted an astonishing amount of attention. He not only discovered possibilities, but had convinced himself beyond all doubt that a new generation had arisen which was genuinely anxious to learn about the teaching and the activities of the Catholic Church. And with this immense vista of his own life's work opening before him, he was brought in contact for the first time at close quarters with the extraordinary and incalculable reaction towards the traditions of Catholicism which was already becoming feverishly active in Oxford under the guidance of John Henry Newman. Wiseman, with all the impulsive energy of his generous temperament, threw himself heart and soul into encouraging the Oxford Movement, little knowing how immense would be the consequences of the movement itself in shaking the foundations of English Protestantism, and without the smallest perception—which no man could yet have felt—of the extent to which the influx of so many brilliant converts from the Oxford Movement would challenge, and eventually destroy, the traditional supremacy of the old aristocratic families in the affairs and in the outlook of the English Catholics.

CHAPTER II

THE OXFORD MOVEMENT

No clear account can be given of the ferment of religious revival into which Wiseman was thrown during his stay in England from 1835 to 1836 without first describing briefly the general revival of religious enthusiasm that had arisen on the Continent, and that had already captured the fervid imagination of the young Rector of the English College in Rome. The Oxford Movement, and the revival of Catholicism in England to which it contributed so largely, was but a symptom of the sweeping reaction against eighteenth-century agnosticism, and the revolutionary upheaval which it had produced in France and throughout Europe. A new generation, utterly disillusioned with the catchwords of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, and exasperated by the intellectual anarchy which the scepticism of the encyclopædists and of Voltaire had created, now turned in a vehement revulsion from agnosticism towards tradition and religious belief. But great changes had come about during the Revolution and the subsequent Napoleonic wars; and the old ideas and beliefs now made their appeal under very different conditions, to a generation which accepted democracy as an accomplished fact, and was concerned chiefly to organise it upon new lines which would give free play to the vital principles of the older traditions. O'Connell, in Ireland; Montalembert and Lacordaire, in France; Schlegel and Möhler, in Germany, were all engaged in a very similar movement

which aimed broadly at Christianising the new conditions which had arisen from the years of upheaval. And in Rome itself, Wiseman, whose intellectual activity and enthusiasm had brought him into personal contact with all the leaders of the Catholic revival in Europe, was at the very centre of the great transformation which was taking place.

There had been a rapid succession of new Popes in the years of Wiseman's connection with the revived English College in Rome ; and the temporal power of the Papacy, which had received a severe shock during the imprisonment of Pius VII by Napoleon, had never entirely consolidated again after his triumphant return to Rome. Leo XII had died in the early months of 1829, and his successor, Pius VIII, while doing his utmost to promote pacification by his appeal to the French clergy to show loyalty to the existing regime, had been confronted almost immediately by the revolutions in Belgium and in Poland. Before long he had ample cause for anxiety at the increasing political unrest in Papal States. A conspiracy of the Carbonari was discovered and suppressed in Rome, but the tension of the time became an overwhelming strain ; and in December, 1830, Pius VIII died, and another new Pope had to be elected. At the beginning of February, 1831, Cardinal Cappellari became Pope Gregory XVI, and almost at once a serious wave of revolution swept through Italy and for a time involved the Papal States. It was suppressed with the assistance of Austria, and the new Pope faced his difficulties with a firm policy of reaction ; but the crisis was evidently no more than postponed, and the younger generation in Rome became more and more deeply engaged with the problems of reconciling enthusiasm for the Catholic revival with a liberal acceptance of the new ideas of democratic government.

In Rome, as Rector of the English College, Wiseman was brought into touch from day to day with an extraordinary variety of visitors to the Eternal City. His genius for friendship made him a constant correspondent of many men whose names figure largely in the history of their generation : of Lamennais, Lacordaire, Ozanam, Montalembert and many other leaders of the Catholic revival in France ; of Döllinger, Möhler, Görres, Windischmann in Germany. And through his connections thus formed in Rome he was able to produce the formation of other friendships of great international influence. So it was he who brought together the English historian Lingard and Dr. Döllinger in Munich. The English College was the natural centre towards which all visitors to Rome from England always turned for introductions or information, and they found in Wiseman a fascinating personality who was full of excitement and enthusiasm about the revival of Catholicism in Europe. He, on his side, already obtained glimpses of a similar religious revival in England, which gradually assumed its place, in his mind, in the perspective of a great intellectual movement in Europe. Not the least interesting of his visitors was Macaulay, who had recently discovered the translation of Ranke's *History of the Popes*—about which he was to write his famous essay soon afterwards—and who arrived with an introduction to Wiseman at the English College in 1838. " I hardly know," Macaulay wrote afterwards to Lord Lansdowne, " whether I am more interested by the old Rome or by the new Rome—by the monuments of the extraordinary empire which has perished, or by the institutions of the still more extraordinary empire which, after all the shock which it has sustained, is still full of life and of perverted energy." Another visitor about the same time was

Gladstone—arriving in Rome as a young politician who had begun to make his mark after his first Under-Secretaryship.

Five years earlier, in 1833, Wiseman had made his first acquaintance, when he was still in his very early 'thirties, with the leaders of the Oxford Movement, though it was not until his visit to England in 1835–36 that he really appreciated the full possibilities of what was happening under Newman's influence. Newman and Hurrell Froude had come together to call on the Rector of the English College, and they left him with a feeling of bitter disillusionment concerning their own position as Anglicans. "We got introduced to him," Froude wrote afterwards, "to find out whether they would take us in on any terms to which we could twist our consciences, and we found, to our dismay, that not one step could be gained without swallowing the Council of Trent as a whole. Our first notion was that terms of communion were within certain limits under the control of the Pope, or that in case he could not dispense solely, yet, at any rate, the acts of one Council might be rescinded by another. . . . But we found, to our horror, that the doctrine of the infallibility of the Church made the Acts of each successive Council obligatory for ever, that what had been once decided could never be meddled with again." The discussion produced a profound impression upon Wiseman, even more than upon his two visitors, although the acquaintance was scarcely carried any further. Wiseman, with his mind full of the religious revival in so many countries, assumed impulsively that the obvious sincerity of Newman and his friend was but a different symptom of the general return towards Catholicism. And although the older Catholics, like his friend and Vice-Rector, Dr. Errington, could never regard the

Catholic tendencies of the Oxford Movement as genuine convictions, or as being anything but dangerous compromises with dogmatic truth, Wiseman never faltered in the enthusiasm which this first meeting had aroused. "From the day of Newman and Froude's visit to me," he wrote years afterwards, "never for an instant did I waver in my conviction that a new era had commenced in England . . . to this grand object I devoted myself."

So when he spent a year in England between the first term of his Rectorship and his return to Rome for the years 1836–40, the deep interest and sympathy which Wiseman had felt from the beginning towards the Oxford Movement expanded into an almost unbounded enthusiasm. To the English Catholics, with their long traditions of exclusiveness and their self-consciousness as a compact minority in England, the idea of encouraging Anglican clergymen who were still trying to demonstrate that the Catholic Church was in error, and that the Catholic traditions had been preserved intact through the Reformation, was not only disconcerting, but almost blasphemous. Wiseman's personal enthusiasms for the Oxford Movement were regarded with suspicion, and before long with active hostility. Many devout Catholics were thankful that he lived at a safe distance in Rome, while they attributed his very unusual attitude to his foreign associations and upbringing. He was accused of vanity and ambition, and considered unbalanced, if not positively dangerous. But his year in England had turned his thoughts irrevocably towards home, and he longed henceforward to be relieved of his position in Rome. Already he was inspiring his students there with the plan which he had conceived of training "a small community of missioners" who should go in twos from place to place giving lectures and retreats and missions in the different

dioceses. The time for his recall to England was fast approaching, and in the last years of his Rectorship he had established a practice of residing for part of the year in England ; while his contributions to the newly-founded *Dublin Review*—which had come into being chiefly through the joint efforts of himself and Daniel O'Connell—absorbed always more of his thoughts, and attracted still more attention to his name and his conspicuous abilities and scholarship. From the foundation of the *Dublin Review* in 1836 he had been closely associated with it, and in its early years it published a series of important articles by him which revealed the close and sympathetic observation with which he continued to follow the Oxford Movement. And in July, 1839, he published in it his article on St. Augustine and the Donatists, which was one of the landmarks in the history of Newman's conversion. Newman described it at the time as " the first real hit from Romanism which has happened to me," and " a most uncomfortable article on every account."

To understand the influence of Wiseman upon the conversion of Newman and his friends it is necessary to recapitulate the principal events in the Tractarian Movement. The first notable contribution to the revival of Catholic sympathies in the Church of England was the appearance of John Keble's *Christian Year* in 1826. Keble had left Oxford three years previously, but his friend, John Henry Newman, who had come to share his Catholic tendencies, became Vicar of St. Mary's, Oxford, in the year when Keble's *Christian Year* was published. Newman had been brought up in definitely evangelical views, and he passed through a distinct phase of " comprehensiveness " under the influence of Whately and Dr. Arnold of Rugby, before he came under the inspiration of Pusey's more romantic teaching. But his

own intellectual instincts before long led to his separation from Whately—who had, at least, helped to break down the narrow and bigoted views in which he had been educated, but who was, Newman found, tending constantly towards a Liberal philosophy of religion against which Newman soon reacted vehemently. Newman had progressed by this time from the traditional narrowness of evangelicalism to a clear conception of the Church, claiming unbroken continuity with the early Fathers. His subsequent reading turned his attention more and more to trying to reconcile the teaching and the notions of the Church of England with Catholicism before the Reformation. He was confronted everywhere with discouraging symptoms. Life seemed to have gone out of the Church of England ; it was losing its hold upon all classes ; and many who were fundamentally hostile to Catholicism were already convinced that, whereas Protestantism could not possibly survive the shocks to all organised religion which had continued since the French Revolution, the Catholic Church alone retained the stability and the vitality which showed some possibility of survival. " The Church party," wrote Newman to his mother in 1828, " (visibly at least, for there may be latent talent, and great times give birth to great men) is poor in mental endowments. It has not activity, shrewdness, dexterity, eloquence, practical power. On what, then, does it depend ? On prejudice and bigotry."

Yet, although he had already definitely allied himself with the High Church party, Newman was still so strongly opposed to the Catholic Church itself that a few months later he took a leading part in defeating Peel when he sought a new mandate from the electors of Oxford University for his reluctant advocacy of Catholic emancipation. Newman held that even to

admit Catholics as legislators was to compromise the loyalty due to the Established Church. He considered this encouragement of Roman Catholics as " one of the signs of the times "—a further symptom of growing indifference towards religion. He threw himself into the campaign to reject Peel from his former constituency when the Catholic Emancipation Act was being prepared ; and on 1st March he wrote jubilantly to his mother, " We have achieved our glorious victory ; it is the first public event I have been concerned in, and I thank God from my heart both for my cause and its success. We have proved the independence of the Church and of Oxford. . . . We had the influence of Government in unrelenting activity against us, and the talent so-called of the University."

In the following years Newman read more and more deeply in the Fathers of the Church, and he had consented to write a book on the Arians of the fourth century. But though his mind was becoming more and more steeped in Catholic tradition, and he was exerting a constantly growing influence in the same direction upon his brilliant group of friends and disciples, he was still profoundly and irreconcilably hostile to the Catholic Church. It was a remarkable evidence of Wiseman's quick sympathies and generosity of temperament that he should have discerned and welcomed the sincerity of Newman and Froude when they visited him in Rome in 1833 ; and the letters which Newman himself wrote about his visit provide ample excuse for the suspicion with which Catholics in England regarded young Dr. Wiseman's enthusiasm for his newly-found friends. " What can I say of Rome," Newman wrote, " but that it is the first of cities, and that all I ever saw are but as dust (even dear Oxford inclusive) compared with its majesty and glory ! Is it possible that so severe

and lofty a place is the cage of unclean creatures? I will not believe it until I have evidence of it. In St. Peter's yesterday, in St. John Leteran to-day, I have felt quite abased, chiefly by their enormous size, added to the extreme accuracy and grace of their proportions, which make one feel little and contemptible." So he tries to attribute to architectural beauty the immense impression which Rome had made upon him. He insists that its religion is a "wretched perversion of the truth"; that though there was "great appearance of piety in the churches," Rome is essentially a "city still under a curse." "As to the Roman Catholic system," he writes, "I have ever detested it so much that I cannot detest it more by seeing it; but to the Catholic system I am more attached than ever, and quite love the little monks (seminarists) of Rome; they look so innocent and bright, poor boys! And we have fallen in, more or less, with a number of interesting Irish and English priests. I regret that we could form no intimate acquaintance with them. I fear there are very grave and far-spreading scandals among the Italian priesthood, and there is mummery in abundance; yet there is a deep substratum of true Christianity."

"Oh that Rome was not Rome! But I seem to see as clear as day that union with her is impossible," he writes in his last letter from that visit which first brought him into touch with Wiseman. It was with such thoughts he returned to England in 1834, refreshed, and with his vitality renewed, after a long convalescence in the Mediterranean. Events were developing rapidly under the first reformed Parliament, and Newman and his friends met for many feverish discussions in Oriel College. They decided that the time had come for the great forward movement to defend and revive the Church of England; and in July, Keble sounded the

first open challenge in his sermon on "The National Apostasy." In December there was published the first of the long series of "Tracts for the Times," which Newman had suggested and planned; and which was to create the Oxford Movement and to result in the conversion to Catholicism of their principal writers. Their frequent publication was continued apace, and in 1836 Newman undertook to edit not only the Library of the Fathers, but also the *British Critic*, which became the recognised organ of the Tractarians. And in addition to all this output of controversial writing, Newman's personal influence was extended week by week in his sermons at St. Mary's. Newman, however, was by no means recognised even yet as the dominating figure in the new movement. Pusey and Keble shared the prestige of its leadership, and only the more discerning observers like W. G. Ward and James Anthony Froude—whose brother had died within a few years of accompanying Newman to Rome — already saw the indisputable pre-eminence of Newman's genius. But the influence which the Tractarians had begun to exercise upon the whole life of Oxford was almost without precedent.

It was at this stage of the movement that Wiseman published in the *Dublin Review* the article on St. Augustine and the Donatists which confronted Newman for the first time with a new necessity to reconsider his position still further. The main lines upon which the Tractarians had been working were quite simple. They believed that the Church of England had never lost the continuity of Catholic tradition, and that its narrow Protestantism was no more than a perverted atmosphere imported in later years. By concentrating upon the Catholic aspects of Anglicanism, they were convinced that they could Catholicise the Established

Church within a reasonable time, and that their work would be accomplished by discrediting and eliminating the Protestantism which had given its character to their Church since the collapse of the Stuarts. Wiseman, almost alone among Catholic observers, had a clear appreciation of what they were attempting; and while he showed real sympathy towards their reverence for Catholic tradition, he threw a new bombshell into their camp by pointing out the analogy between the claims of the Donatists and what the Tractarians were now attempting. Leaving the question of continuity on one side, he came straight to the fundamental question of whether the mere fact of proving continuity—even if it could be proved—would entitle the High Church party to regard themselves as being in communion with the Catholic Church. He pointed out that St. Augustine had faced a precisely similar issue, when the Donatists had unquestionably been able to prove the continuity of their own Orders. But St. Augustine himself—whose authority Newman and the Tractarians would never question—had resolved the question entirely against the attitude which the Tractarians were now adopting. He had insisted that continuity by itself was of no value, so long as the Donatists remained in open schism and refused to acknowledge the supremacy of the Holy See. The moral was obvious and simple—that all these diligent researches by the Tractarians were of merely academic interest; and that even if they could succeed, as they wished, in demonstrating that Catholic continuity had not been broken at the Reformation, the discovery would make no difference, since the Church of England would remain schismatical, even if it could ever conceivably vindicate its claim to be Catholic in tradition and in doctrine. The analogy between the claims made by the

Donatists in the fourth century and those made by the Tractarians in the nineteenth was astonishingly close. And the answer of St. Augustine and of the other Fathers who considered it was overwhelming in its simplicity. In each case, a local church asserted that the Catholic Church was in error, while it alone retained the title to be called Catholic. St. Augustine's reply was simply to ask the Donatist bishop whether he could give authority to him to officiate in any local church other than his own ; and the inevitable answer was a confession of inability to exercise that universal jurisdiction which Rome alone possessed and could exercise.

To a later generation, which is familiar with the broad results of all these excited controversies, it seems astonishing that this simple argument had never occurred to Newman before. It came to him with the force of a revelation. " I must confess it has given me a stomach ache," he wrote in confidence to Rogers. " At this moment we have sprung a leak ; and the worst of it is that those sharp fellows, Ward, Stanley & Co., will not let one go to sleep upon it." The Tractarians had for years been immersed in highly abstruse controversies on matters of historical fact, or of theological subtlety. Wiseman had appeared upon the scenes not only as a supremely qualified scholar who was able to meet the intellectual giants of Oxford on their own ground, but as a personality who could cut clean across the intricacies of a complicated argument with a mind that illuminated the whole controversy like a searchlight. It was like the sunlight breaking upon a group of men who had been groping in the dark. And it was precisely this quality of direct luminous vision, combined with great learning and consummate abilities as a controversialist, that marked out Wiseman as a born

leader of the English Catholics in his own time. He not only caused consternation among the Tractarian theologians of Oxford — whose technical appeals to remote or abstruse points simply bewildered and exasperated the man in the street—but stated the case for the Catholic Church as against the so-called Catholics in the Church of England with a direct simplicity which nobody could misunderstand and which attracted attention everywhere.

The effect, even upon Newman's subtle and elastic mind, was devastating. It affected him so deeply that within a month he appalled Henry Wilberforce by confiding in him, during a walk in the New Forest, that he already felt fears that he might ultimately enter the Roman Catholic Church. Wilberforce recalls that the remark came upon him " like a thunderstroke," and he said that he hoped they might both die first. Newman recovered from the first shock, but his confidence was never the same again as it had been. Wiseman's article had been shown to him by a friend, who pointed out particularly the pregnant sentence from St. Augustine, " *Securus judicat orbis terrarum.*" " When he was gone," Newman wrote afterwards, " the words kept ringing in my ears ; they were words which went beyond the occasion of the Donatists. They gave a cogency to the article which had escaped me at first. They decided ecclesiastical questions on a simpler rule than that of antiquity ; nay, St. Augustine was one of the prime oracles of antiquity ; here, then, antiquity was deciding against itself. What a light was hereby thrown upon every controversy in the Church . . . but that the deliberate judgment, in which the whole Church at length rests and acquiesces, is an infallible prescription and a final sentence against such portions of it as protest and secede. Who can account for the

impressions which are made on him? For a mere sentence, the words of St. Augustine, struck me with a power which I never had felt from any words before."

On his return to Oxford in October, 1836, Newman found his friends all discussing Wiseman's article excitedly; and, as he had anticipated, Ward and others left him no peace, but clamoured for an adequately convincing reply. Wiseman himself probably had no idea what a profound impression his article had made. But the change in attitude among the Tractarians very quickly became apparent; and Father Spencer, Wiseman's convert friend, went to Oxford in January to propose that all should join in prayers for unity. Spencer was the most enthusiastic supporter of all Wiseman's dreams of the conversion of England, and he believed firmly that England would have become Catholic within a few generations. Newman, torn between his Protestant antipathy towards Rome and his growing veneration for Catholicism, was overjoyed at Father Spencer's arrival, but mastered his feelings and treated the convert priest with deliberate rudeness. He refused to meet him at dinner—on the express ground that he regarded him as an apostate from the Anglican Church. He wrote to him afterwards, upbraiding him for his sympathies with O'Connell and the Catholic Liberals, and even denouncing the English Catholics (who certainly had no great affection for O'Connell) as "a political, not a religious party." But his self-confidence was terribly shattered; and Wiseman's article had created an insatiable restlessness among several of Newman's closest associates—W. G. Ward, Frederick Oakeley and Frederick Faber. They had relied so absolutely upon Newman's guidance hitherto that they gave him no rest now that their own sense of security was shaken.

Wilfrid Ward, in his great biography of Newman, shows how the disturbance created by Wiseman's article in the *Dublin Review* set up a train of thought in Newman's mind which he was incapable of suppressing, and which produced many varied symptoms of a growing preoccupation about the Church of Rome. "The change in the character of the movement," he writes, "became more and more apparent. The Church of England had been the central object of interest from 1833 to 1838. The 'Church of Rome' had been only a feature in the historical controversy which defined her position. By 1841 the proportions were reversed. The presumption was no longer on the Anglican side—it was on the Roman; England had to justify a position at first sight untenable." And this growing obsession with the clear claim of Rome to infallibility was deepened by other reflections suggested by the events of the age. In February, 1840, Newman is writing to his sister: "I begin to have serious apprehensions lest any religious body is strong enough to withstand the league of evil but the Roman Church. At the end of the first millenary it withstood the fury of Satan, and now the end of the second is drawing on. Certainly the way that good principles have shot up is wonderful; but I am not clear that they are not tending to Rome—not from any necessity in the principles themselves, but from the much greater proximity between Rome and us than between infidelity and us, and that in a time of trouble we naturally look about for allies." Yet he dreaded the fascination which Rome had begun to exercise upon him. "It is a bad thing," he told Bowden, "stirring one's sympathies towards Rome"; and he was still so far aloof that he could find some security in saying that "were there sanctity among the Roman Catholics they would, indeed, be formidable."

At all costs it now seemed essential to the Tractarians to establish their contention that they were in the full sense of the word Catholics, who could challenge the claims of Rome on the basis of unbroken continuity with the centuries before the Reformation. Ward and the others were clamouring for a reply to Wiseman's challenge, and Newman now prepared to set forth, at least, the definite conviction that the Church of England was Catholic. The result was the famous Tract 90, which almost immediately provoked a fury of indignation in the Church of England. The tendencies of the Tractarians had been suspect for some time, but this open repudiation of Protestantism went beyond all endurance. Ward had brought the Tract in triumph to Tait in Balliol, and the future archbishop read through it with a certain irritation until he reached the commentary on the twenty-second article. Tait demanded of Ward whether he had understood the meaning correctly, and then proceeded to show it to one person after another. Within a fortnight—during which Newman had no idea of what a tumult was brewing—Tait and three other tutors lodged a formal protest against the Tract ; and within the following week the Hebdomadal Board of the Heads of Houses had fulminated an official condemnation. The whole Press gave prominence to what had happened. The Bishop of Oxford issued his own formal objection and advised the discontinuance of the Tracts. Newman wrote to express his readiness to discontinue them, but published a new edition of Tract 90, with replies to his critics.

The whole ascendancy of the movement in Oxford was suddenly exploded, and the Tractarians were accused of positive dishonesty in retaining their positions in the Church of England. Deans of colleges changed their dinner hour in order to prevent their residents

from hearing Newman preach. But one at least of the deans continued to attend the service in St. Mary's himself; and Newman's congregation, which had for years been most remarkably large, now included almost everybody of importance in the University, whether young or old. The bishops decided that the time had come for a public denunciation, and in turn they dissociated themselves, on one pretext or another, from the Tractarian movement. Yet Newman had had no intention of challenging authority, but merely of stating the foundations of his own belief as a loyal Anglican. The sequel had been anything but what he had hoped; for the former influence of his own friends in the University was now completely undermined and broken. Prominent Tractarians were defeated as candidates for various positions in the University simply because they were Tractarians. And in May, 1843, a by no means extreme sermon by Pusey on the Eucharist led to his suspension by the Vice-Chancellor from further preaching for two years. Newman's confidence in his own views was so shaken that he shrank more and more from public utterances. His parochial sermons, says Principal Shairp, "assumed an uneasy tone which perplexed his followers"; and W. G. Ward, who loved adventurous controversy and who had already advanced considerably beyond Newman towards Romanism, had, before long, according to Dean Bradley, "succeeded Newman in Oxford as the acknowledged leader of the party."

JOHN HENRY NEWMAN

CHAPTER III

WISEMAN AND NEWMAN'S CONVERSION

By April, 1842, Newman had found his own position so uncomfortable that he decided to live outside of Oxford altogether. He went to live permanently at Littlemore, where he had bought a small property, and his visits to Oxford became constantly less frequent. The last phase had now begun, though it was to take three more years before he finally capitulated. In 1843 he wrote quite definitely to a friend that he believed the Roman Catholic Church to be the Church of the Apostles. In September he resigned his position as Vicar of St. Mary's; and in the same month, with his habitual shrinking from publicity, he published in the little-read *Conservative Journal* a retractation of all his earlier attacks on Rome. On 25th September, at Littlemore, he preached his tragic sermon on "The Parting of Friends." But he still clung to the Church of England, while his heart was torn with personal grief and his mind was overloaded with confusion and darkness. He took refuge in beginning to edit a series of "Lives of the English Saints"; but when the Life of St. Stephen Harding was declared to be "of a character inconsistent even with its proceeding from an Anglican publisher," he withdrew from the editorship—feeling that his last resource had been taken from him, and with an increasingly definite perception that the Church of England could not logically be called Catholic when the lives of English saints

were not considered a legitimate subject for any Anglican publisher.

Meanwhile, there had been developments among the Roman Catholics in England which the recluse of Littlemore could not ignore. Wiseman had come back to England, and had entered upon new duties, which were to mark him out as the inevitable first leader of the Catholic hierarchy on its restoration. Wiseman's heart was all in England during the closing years of his Rectorship at Rome ; and in 1840 the opportunity for which he longed had come. The Pope increased the number of vicars-apostolic in England from four to eight ; and in addition to the four new bishops, Wiseman was sent back from Rome to become coadjutor to the aged Vicar-Apostolic of the Central District, Dr. Walsh, and to combine with his duties as coadjutor the Presidency of Oscott College. He was consecrated in the English College in Rome on 8th June. On the following day he ordained two new priests for the English mission, and confirmed a recent English convert who was married to a Belgian diplomat. And while excited rumours began to grow around the future of Newman after his retirement from Oxford, no man watched and waited with more tense expectation, and with more devoted sympathy, than the former Rector of the English in Rome, who had not met Newman for twelve years. For twenty-two years Wiseman had lived almost continuously in Rome, and he now came back with a mind steeped in the historical and religious associations of Rome, and free from the prejudices and fears which played so large a part in the outlook of the English Catholics.

" We had left our country young," he wrote afterwards in his recollections of his first return to England in 1835, " and were hardly conscious of the wrongs

which galled our elders. Whatever may be considered the disadvantages of a foreign education, it possessed, especially at that period, the great advantage that it reared the mind and nursed the affections beyond the reach of religious contests and their irritation. One hardly knew the bitter things that were said against what was dearest to us." Through all the remainder of his life this aloofness from English Catholic traditions was to make him suspect among the old Catholics. They felt that he did not understand English conditions; that his foreign ideas were alien to English notions, and were at times unnecessarily foisted upon the Catholic Church in England; that he lacked their sense of the clear division between the rights of the laity and of the clergy and between the claims of the Holy See and those of a national jurisdiction. Above all, they watched with growing uneasiness his marked tendency to give rapid advancement and large responsibilities to converts from the Church of England, who only a few years before had been denouncing and working against the Catholic Church. This distrust felt by the old Catholics towards Wiseman was not only natural, but completely excusable. His impulsive temperament, which made him fluctuate all his life long between moods of exalted enthusiasm and almost despairing depression, led him into many ill-considered decisions. It was quite true that he did not appreciate the inherited reserve and suspicion felt by the older Catholic families in England, and that his training in Rome made him introduce innovations, for which the old Catholics were unprepared and which they regarded with definite dislike. But when all allowance is made for his inability to interpret, or even to understand the attitude of the old Catholics, he, at any rate, started his career as a bishop in England with two supreme and

invaluable qualifications. He possessed a natural capacity for leadership, a power of appealing to the great masses of people through his own simplicity and spontaneous enthusiasm, which was completely unrivalled among his Catholic contemporaries. And, above all, he introduced into England not only the vigour and weight of his own brilliant scholarship, but a sense of the Catholic revival which was already in progress throughout Europe. This expectation of great developments, and confidence in the possibility of miracles being worked, made him regard the Oxford Movement—even while Newman was still profoundly antagonistic to Romanism—with an unbounded sympathy, which, in fact, contributed incalculably towards the stream of conversions that took place in his own lifetime.

So when he assumed his new duties as head of Oscott, near Birmingham, instead of the English College in Rome, his mind was already preoccupied with the Oxford Movement. He arrived at Oscott in September, 1840, before the famous Tract 90 had yet appeared, which was to be the signal of that upheaval which he had been almost alone in foreseeing. He had one devoted ally from the start among the college staff, in Father Ignatius Spencer, who believed implicitly that the Tractarian Movement was heading straight towards the surrender to Rome not only of its own leaders, but of the greater part of the Church of England. The publication of Tract 90, and the storm which it provoked, gave an amazing confirmation to the anticipations which Wiseman and Spencer had tried vainly to impress upon their friends; and, undisturbed by the cynical indifference of most of the staff towards their own hopes and endeavours, they now set themselves to prepare for playing a decisive part at Oscott as

intermediaries between the Oxford Movement and the Church. There were other converts at Oscott already, and Wiseman gave an unstinted welcome to each new arrival from the other side. His Vice-President, at first, Dr. Logan, was one of the Cambridge converts who had come into the Church before Newman had yet discovered that there had ever been a Catholic tradition in the Church of England. And although the arrival of his former Vice-Rector in Rome, Dr. Errington, to continue their intimate associations at Oscott, brought him a chastening and severely practical criticism of all his enthusiastic schemes, Wiseman had already seen such immense forces loosed by the Tractarian Movement that he never faltered in the enthusiasm which inspired him. "There was one thought," he wrote six years later—when events had amazingly fulfilled his first brave hopes—"which cheered and supported me, from the first dawn of hope which visited me in Italy, from the day of Newman and Froude's visit to me. Never, never for an instant, did I waver in my full conviction that a new era had commenced in England. . . . To the promotion of this grand object of England's hope I had devoted myself. Puny and worthless as might be my efforts, they had been offered to this one end; the favourite studies of my former years were abandoned for the pursuit of this aim alone. Among the providential agencies that seemed justly timed, and even necessary for it, appeared to me the erection of this noble college, in the very heart of England. Often in my darkest days and hours, feeling as if alone in my hopes, have I walked in front of it, and casting my eyes towards it, exclaimed to myself, 'No, it was not to educate a few boys that this was erected, but to be the rallying point of the yet silent but vast movement towards the Catholic Church, which

has commenced and must prosper.' I felt assured of this as if the word of prophecy had spoken it."

Oscott had by this time been in existence for sixty-six years. It had been founded in 1774 by a group of active Catholic laymen, largely influenced by the anti-clerical tendencies of the Catholic Board, and there had been considerable friction with the vicars-apostolic over the conditions of its endowment. It was handed over, after its unsuccessful first years, to Bishop Milner, who developed it considerably. On Milner's death, Dr. Weedal became its President in 1826; and he had done much to establish its success when he was appointed one of the four new vicars-apostolic in 1840, and Dr. Wiseman was brought from Rome to replace him, while combining the Presidency with the duties of coadjutor to Bishop Walsh. Under Wiseman's Presidency it contained many brilliant pupils who afterwards achieved great distinction—Archbishop Stonor, Bishops Bagshawe and Knight, Lord Bonner and Lord Acton, who was a pupil there from 1863 to 1868. Acton described his own impressions of Wiseman's Presidency afterwards, declaring that he never succeeded in amalgamating the various elements in his staff—the Roman-trained element, led by Errington, the Cambridge converts, the Tractarian converts, the clergy from the Midland district and the small group of Irish professors—or even inspired or directed them particularly. Wiseman " was thinking of other things, and looking far afield." He was frequently absent, engaged in some great scheme or other ; but when he was at the college he brought down many famous visitors—O'Connell, Father Mathew, Mr. Gladstone, the Duc de Bordeaux, patriarchs from the Eastern Churches, and, constantly, the convert architect Pugin, whose crude and flamboyant enthusiasm for the imme-

diate conversion of England to Catholicism never failed to stimulate Wiseman to further efforts. Pugin had obtained wide scope from the Vicar-Apostolic of the Midland District a year before Wiseman's arrival at Oscott, and he was lavishing his gifts as an architect upon the building of new Gothic churches which were deliberately intended to attract attention, instead of the former plainness and obscurity of the Catholic chapels. Wiseman was overjoyed at meeting an enthusiastic convert of such recognised abilities and distinction, and they became intimate friends, though Wiseman's Roman training and tastes were completely different to the Gothic enthusiasm of Pugin. Wiseman, however, somehow arrived at an understanding with the leader of the Gothic revival, and they collaborated cordially in reorganising and developing the liturgy at Oscott. Pugin's enthusiasm gave him a sense of vitality and activity in the Church in England, and they wrought great changes in co-operation. But Wiseman loved Pugin not least because he was a convert, and he was an invaluable ally as a friend of many of the leading Tractarians.

Pugin had paid several visits to Oxford in 1840, when the Tractarian Movement was beginning to gravitate quite definitely towards Rome. In his excitable, fervid way, Pugin had first been inspired by the prospect of a corporate reunion of the Church of England with Rome ; but when Newman's Tract 90 had resulted in an overwhelming rally of Anglicanism towards its Protestant traditions, that dream vanished, and he based his hopes rather upon the much more limited work of creating a Catholic atmosphere within the Church of England which would prepare the way for a final submission to Rome. But the discontinuance of the " Tracts for the Times " after the publication of

Tract 90 wrecked this hope as well. In constant correspondence with Wiseman, he was, nevertheless, able, in his impetuous way, to throw a great deal of light on how matters were developing at Oxford. To Wiseman, this contact, even at second hand, with the leaders of the Oxford Movement was almost intoxicating. Within a few months after Tract 90 had appeared, he wrote an elaborate personal letter to Newman, in answer to his explanations of how many points of Catholic doctrine he still rejected. But Newman declined to reply, and Wiseman was soon bombarded by earnest appeals from the old Catholics to distrust the sincerity of those whom he seemed so anxious to encourage. The historian Lingard wrote solemnly to him, appealing to the example of history, and reminding him of the disillusionment that had rewarded similar efforts by English Catholics during the Reformation. Dr. Griffiths, the Vicar-Apostolic of the London District, showed a similar uneasiness at the impetuosity of this young enthusiast from Rome, and warned him that "scarcely shall we find in history a body of schismatics returning with sincerity to the obedience of faith." Others, equally dismayed by his misunderstanding of English conditions, implored him to realise that Newman and his friends were really trying to keep disillusioned Anglicans within the Church of England by creating a pretence that the Church of England was in all essentials Catholic. Rathbone protested that Newman was simply doing his utmost to prevent the submission to the Church of "great and good men who, tired of the Church of England as it is, had almost fully determined to join the ancient religion of our forefathers."

But if Wiseman still refrained from direct personal relations with the leaders of the Oxford Movement, it was only because, as he said, their sincerity would be

still further suspected in the Church of England if anyone could show that they had been in consultation with any Catholic bishop. He had books sent to Newman through intermediaries, and he followed up every hint he could gather as to what were the chief stumbling-blocks between Newman and Rome. And in April, 1841, he was writing quite freely to a friend in Rome in terms of almost unqualified admiration for the Oxford reformers. "I have made these remarks," he wrote at the end of a long letter describing the spiritual poverty of the Church in England, "to account for our low state in many things, and to show our endeavours to rise from it. One thing would at once effect it. Let us have an influx of new blood; let us have but even a small number of such men as write in the Tracts, so imbued with the spirit of the early Church, so desirous to revive the image of the ancient Fathers—men who have learnt to teach from St. Augustine, to preach from St. Chrysostom, and to feel from St. Bernard; let even a few such men, with the high clerical feeling which I believe them to possess, enter fully into the spirit of the Catholic religion, and we shall be speedily reformed, and England quickly converted. I am ready to acknowledge that, in all things, except the happiness of possessing the truth, and being in communion with God's true Church, and enjoying the advantage and blessings that flow thence, we are their inferiors. It is not to you that I say this for the first time. I have long said it to those about me—that if the Oxford divines entered the Church, we must be ready to fall into the shade, and take up our position in the background. . . . I will willingly yield to them place and honour, if God's good service require it. I will be a co-operator under the greater zeal and learning and abilities of a new leader." And he concludes this almost prophetic letter with an

apology for being so carried away by his feelings—" on a subject which day and night has been before me for five years—so that, nearly two years ago, I felt it my duty to apply to the Pope to offer to resign my situation in Rome and return to England, mainly to be on the spot, to lend my feeble assistance to what I saw opening before us."

Phillips sent on this letter to Pugin, to be shown to the Oxford leaders, and Pugin himself proceeded to Oxford to investigate developments. Oscott was gradually becoming known as a place where wavering Anglicans would meet with real sympathy ; and Wiseman had already received several early converts there by this time, including the son of the popular poetess, Felicia Hemans. Meanwhile, Wiseman's urgent insistence upon the far-reaching importance of what was happening in Oxford—where " what appears on the surface is nothing to what is working in the deep "—had brought him a powerful ally in Dr. Russell, of Maynooth, who was editor of the *Dublin Review*. Wiseman had written to him that " their advance is so steady, regular and unanimous, that one of two things must follow : either they will bring or push on their Church with them, or they will leave her behind. The first is their great object ; the second may be their gain. . . . All we can do is to push them forward in their view, so as to make them diffuse it in every direction, and to invite them towards us rather than to repulse them, as some seem inclined to do. I should like to see them become Catholics at once, and one by one ; but, if they will not do that, I should be sorry to check them in their present course." Russell responded generously to such an appeal, and acting on impulse, wrote a private letter to Newman, whom he had never met. Newman replied in grateful terms, and Russell sent on his letter

to Wiseman. But an intimate correspondence between Newman and Russell had already grown up before Wiseman had yet established any close communication with him. In the summer he made a pretext for writing direct to Newman, but received a reply which " has thrown me on my back and dispirited me, so that I have kept back a long letter which I had written to Cardinal Mai, for fear I may be myself deceived and may be misguiding the Holy See." But he recovered from his discouragement, and before long had established direct correspondence with W. G. Ward and others, whose impetuosity and impatience convinced him that there would be a large secession of young intellectuals to Rome if Newman and the other leaders were unduly slow in making up their minds.

A few months later his enthusiasm overflowed in a public " Letter on Catholic Unity," addressed to the Earl of Shrewsbury, which went to extraordinary lengths in assuming that the Catholic tendencies of the Tractarian Movement had captured the Church of England, and in regarding reunion with the Catholic Church as an imminent possibility. He expressed in the end of his letter a hopefulness in regard to the prospects of reunion which shows how far he exaggerated the extent of Newman's influence. But his message was so full of encouragement that it undoubtedly hastened the progress of Newman and his friends towards surrender to Rome. " Experience has now shown," he wrote, " that the country population are ready to receive without murmuring, indeed with pleasure, the Catholic views propounded from Oxford. . . . Add the richness and majesty of the Catholic ritual, the variety of its sublime services, the touching offices of peculiar seasons, the numberless institutions for charitable objects and its hourly sanctifications of domestic life, and dissent

would break in pieces beneath the silent action of universal attraction, and its fragments gather round its all-powerful principle. Then send forth men of mortified looks and placid demeanour, girt with the cord of a St. Francis, or bearing on their countenances the marks of its mortification (like the followers of Venerable Paul of the Cross), whose garb allows no comparison of superior fineness or affected poverty with that of the poorest that surround them, but whose attire is at once majestic and coarse, and with bare hands and feet, holding the emblem of redemption, let them preach judgment and death, and future punishment, and penances and justice, and chastity. And they will be heard by thousands with awe and reverence ; and we shall see wonders of reformation, pure faith revived with their better lives, and the head converted by the converted heart."

Such pronouncements from Bishop Wiseman at Oscott increased the desire of many of the more advanced Tractarians to establish closer personal relations ; and he was soon able to gather them frequently around him. In October, the visit of a Fellow of Magdalen, Ralph Waldo Sibthorpe, resulted in his unexpectedly becoming a Catholic ; and for a time this produced an estrangement between both sides. But events increased the isolation of the Anglo-Catholic leaders ; and after the Archbishop of Canterbury had scandalised them by joining with the Lutherans of Prussia in founding a bishopric at Jerusalem, they sought consolation again in direct communication with their Catholic sympathisers. Then yet another dramatic conversion added to their unrest. Mr. Bernard Smith, who also had been a Fellow of Magdalen, before he became Vicar of Leadenham, went to Wiseman at Oscott at the end of 1842, and he also made his sub-

mission while he was there. So far as Wiseman was concerned, there was abundant evidence already that the wavering Anglo-Catholics showed every disposition to surrender to Rome if they were sympathetically treated. Newman was now accused by the Bishop of Lincoln of having urged Smith to submit to Rome—though the facts were quite the contrary, and Newman had vainly implored him to come to him at Littlemore before he took any decision.

But in October, 1843, a violent shock fell upon Wiseman, when his recent convert, Sibthorpe, reverted to the Anglican Church. For years afterwards his example was quoted again and again in contradiction of Wiseman's sanguine expectations ; and to Wiseman himself the blow was very severe. Newman took heart again, and felt that here was almost a providential warning against the surrender which he was already contemplating himself. But the stream of conversions still continued. Seager, a brilliant Oriental scholar belonging to the Oxford group, became a Catholic. Next year there followed the publication of W. G. Ward's *Ideal of a Christian Church*—freely stating, as Wiseman put it, " that Rome is the great exemplar to which they must study to approach," and denying the existence of any practical corruption. Its sequel made the position of Newman's more advanced friends entirely untenable. A campaign against Ward was undertaken which reached its climax in his being deprived of his degree in February, 1845 ; and only the veto of the Proctors, who were Newman's personal friends, prevented a formal condemnation of Newman's Tract 90. Pusey now publicly dissociated himself from Ward, and Newman was no longer claimed even as an ally by his former colleagues.

Wiseman watched these swift developments with breathless excitement, expecting almost from day to day

that Newman would throw in his lot with Rome. But months passed without any clear sign from Littlemore. Finally, unable to restrain his anxiety any longer, Wiseman sent Bernard Smith to Littlemore, to visit Newman and report on how matters were developing. He was received with cordiality—which in itself showed how far Newman had advanced since the days when he had refused to meet Father Spencer in Oxford, on the ground that he was an apostate from the Church of England. The group who were now permanently settled in the cottages at Littlemore included, besides Newman himself, his friends, J. B. Dalgairns, Ambrose St. John, E. S. Bowles and Edward Stanton. Other friends came there frequently and joined in the severely monastic life which Newman and his community led—eating only twice a day, and preserving complete silence for half the day. In the afternoon, after his arrival, Smith accompanied Newman on his daily walk. For the rest of the day Newman was usually occupied in writing, standing for long hours day after day at his high desk. But the others were less reserved and questioned Smith curiously about his new Catholic surroundings. They asked him, with the arrogant intellectualism of a University coterie, whether he did not find the English Catholics " impossible " people to associate with. They listened incredulously to Smith's account of the brilliant intellectual gifts of Wiseman, and the unmistakable abilities and character of his assistant, Errington. So the afternoon passed, and Newman had invited Smith to stay for dinner. It was then that the first dramatic sign was made, which gave the first open signal of Newman's attitude. For months he had not spoken, even to his comrades at Littlemore, of what was in his mind. Now, for the first time, the mystery was broken by Newman's appearing among

them for dinner in grey trousers ! It was a sign which Smith, of all men—as his former curate at Littlemore, who knew Newman's scrupulousness about wearing clerical dress—could not fail to understand. He saw that it was a most definite message for him to carry back to Oscott. Newman, in his sensitive, reticent way, had deliberately chosen this method of announcing that he now definitely considered himself to be no more than a layman.

Smith hurried back in jubilation with the news to Wiseman, who was utterly perplexed by such a secretive manner of proclaiming truth. He asked Smith how he could possibly feel so confident as he announced himself to be, for Smith had to admit that they had scarcely spoken of his own conversion. He had nothing more definite to tell than that Newman had appeared in grey trousers at dinner. " But I know the man," he persisted, " and I know what it means. He will come, and come soon." And before long news came which seemed to confirm Smith's confidence. W. G. Ward had at last made up his mind, and it was now regarded as certain that Newman could not delay much longer. But for two months more nothing happened. Then Dalgairns and Ambrose St. John decided that they also must follow Ward. They departed on holiday for the last time ; and Dalgairns became a Catholic at Aston, and St. John at Prior Park. Stanton followed them also, and in October wrote to Newman that he was going to be received into the Church at Stonyhurst. This was the final blow, and in a letter Newman replied bluntly, " Why should we not both be received together ? Father Dominic, the Passionist, comes here on the eighth to receive me. Come back on that day."

The long years of mental agony had reached their climax. Yet even now Newman kept the secret entirely

to himself. On 3rd October he had written to the Provost of Oriel resigning his Fellowship, and he had written on the same day to Pusey to tell him what he had done, adding that " anything may happen to me now any day." In his diary for 5th October he records that " I kept indoors all day preparing for general confession." On 7th October St. John, already a Catholic, came back to join him ; but even now Father Dominic had not been allowed to do more than to guess that he was expected to receive Newman into the Church when he arrived. It was he who had received Dalgairns into the Church a few weeks before ; but St. John, and not Dalgairns, was the only one of the community at Littlemore who ever received Newman's unqualified confidence. And on 7th October, the day before Father Dominic's arrival, Newman wrote to Henry Wilberforce : " Father Dominic, the Passionist, is passing this way on his way from Aston, in Staffordshire, to Belgium, where a Chapter of his Order is to be held at this time. He is to come to Littlemore for the night as a guest of one of us whom he has admitted at Aston. He does not know of my intentions, but I shall ask of him admission into the one true Fold of the Redeemer. I shall keep this back till after it is over. . . . I suppose the departure of others has had something to do with it, for when they went, it was as if I were losing my own bowels."

The career and the work of Father Dominic must be described presently. But Newman's brief description of him on the day before his own reception must be given now. " Father Dominic has had his thoughts turned to England from a youth, in a distinct and remarkable way," he explained in his letter to Wilberforce. " For thirty years he has expected to be sent to England, and about three years since was sent without

any act of his own by his Superior. He has had little or nothing to do with conversions, but goes on missions and retreats among his own people. I saw him over here for a few minutes on St. John the Baptist's day last year, when he came to see the chapel. He is a simple, quaint man, an Italian ; but a very clever, sharp man, too, in his way. It is an accident his coming here, and I had no thoughts of applying to him till quite lately, nor should, I suppose, but for this accident." Even by the evening, when Father Dominic was expected to arrive, Newman had not yet spoken one word of his intentions to his community. Dalgairns and St. John, both Catholics by this time, had been deputed to meet him in Oxford. Dalgairns recorded afterwards the tense atmosphere throughout that day of drenching rain. " About three o'clock," he wrote, " I went to take my hat and stick and walk across the fields to the Oxford ' Angel,' where the coach stopped. As I was taking my stick, Newman said to me in a very low and quiet tone : ' When you see your friend, will you tell him that I wish him to receive me into the Church of Christ ? ' I said, ' Yes,' and no more. I told Father Dominic as he was dismounting from the top of the coach. He said, ' God be praised,' and neither of us spoke again till we reached Littlemore."

The Italian Father Dominic's own account of what happened, contributed by him to the *Tablet* afterwards, is so vivid that it must be included. " The first of these conversions," he wrote, " was that of John Dobrée Dalgairns, Esq., who made his profession of the Catholic faith, and received his first communion on Michaelmas Day, in this our chapel at Aston Hall. He soon after returned to Littlemore ; and I was on the point of setting out for Belgium, when I received a letter from him, inviting me to pass through Oxford

on my way ; for, he said, I might perhaps find something to do there. I accordingly set out from here on the 8th October, and reached Oxford about ten o'clock the evening of the same day. I found there Mr. Dalgairns and Mr. St. John, who had made his profession of faith at Prior Park on the 2nd October, awaiting my arrival. They told me that I was to receive Mr. Newman into the Church. This news filled me with joy, and made me soon forget the rain that had been pelting on me for the last five hours. From Oxford we drove in a chaise to Littlemore, where we arrived about eleven o'clock. I immediately sat down near a fire to dry my clothes, when Mr. Newman entered the room, and, throwing himself at my feet, asked my blessing, and begged me to hear his confession, and receive him into the Church. He made his confession that same night, and on the following morning the Reverend Messrs. Bowles and Stanton did the same ; in the evening of the same day these three made their profession of faith in the usual form in their private oratory, one after another, with such fervour and piety that I was almost out of myself for joy. On the following morning . . . after Mass, Mr. Dalgairns took me to the house of —Woodman, Esq., a gentleman of Littlemore ; I heard his confession, and that of his wife and two daughters, and received all four into the Church. When I returned from Belgium, I passed through Littlemore again, and had the happiness to find the Reverend F. Oakeley and another reverend gentleman already received into the Church by the Reverend R. Newsham." Father Dominic had indeed " found something to do " at Littlemore ; and this batch of conversions was to be followed by an always increasing stream of converts, whose combined influence brought such an accession of intellectual and social influence to

reinforce the Catholic Church in England as to create a challenge to the prestige and ascendancy of the old Catholics, which Wiseman had been almost alone in foreseeing.

The story of Father Dominic's own very active life belongs in a most curious way to the history of the Catholic revival in England. He was born near Viterbo in 1792, and grew up as one of a large family who were left in great poverty by the death of his father when he was very young. He received no schooling, and when his natural piety led him to enter the Passionist novitiate as a lay brother, his life seemed likely to be spent in the performance of menial duties. But his abilities were soon discovered, and he was trained for the priesthood after some years, and in time became a professor of theology. He had already begun to dream, as a young man, that his special mission in life was to undertake the conversion of England; although his Order had no contact whatever with the country, and there was no apparent reason why he should ever set foot in it. Not until 1830, when he was nearing his fortieth year, did he even make the acquaintance of his first English friend, Lord Spencer's youngest son, who had been an Anglican clergyman before he became a Catholic, long in advance of the Oxford Movement, and went to Rome to study for the Catholic priesthood. In Rome, Father Spencer and Father Dominic Barberi met for the first time; but a dozen years more were to pass before Father Spencer entered the English branch of the Passionists as Father Ignatius.

Through Spencer, Father Dominic was introduced also in Rome to Ambrose de Lisle, who had become a Catholic eleven years earlier, while he was still at school. And, in contact with these two early English converts, Father Dominic quickly developed into a definite plan

the vague longing for missionary work in England which had been the inspiration of his youth. His own career in the Passionist Order proceeded with an astonishing series of promotions. He, who not many years before had been an almost illiterate lay brother, was now appointed a Father Consulter for Italy, and as such obtained a voice in the Supreme Council of his Order. The meeting of its General Chapter in 1833 gave him the first opportunity for suggesting the foundation of an English branch of the Order ; but the proposal met with no support at the time, and six years more had to pass before he could raise the question again at the next General Chapter. But his personal influence grew enormously in the intervening years. He was made Provincial of the Southern Province of Italy in the same year, and in 1834 his hopes were immensely strengthened by direct applications to the Passionist Order from some of the English bishops, acting under the inspiration of Spencer and de Lisle. In 1839, when the General Chapter met, the proposal was raised again, and this time Dominic Barberi's request was granted. He himself was, for the time being, transferred to Belgium to found a new branch of the Order there. At last he had begun to travel northwards ; and when he continued to receive urgent personal entreaties from Father Spencer and from Wiseman to come to assist them in England, the fulfilment of his hopes seemed to be rapidly approaching. In the following year he actually succeeded in visiting England, and there made personal acquaintance with some of the leaders of the Oxford Movement. He returned to Belgium more convinced than ever that the time for the conversion of England was at hand. When Newman's Tract 90 had let loose the storm which shattered the influence of the Tractarians in the Church

of England, he was sent a French translation of an article which Dalgairns had written about the situation of the Anglican parties. The spirit of the article touched Father Dominic so deeply that he at once sent to the *Univers* in Paris a long "letter addressed to the professors of the University of Oxford on the occasion of seeing an epistle from one of their body in a journal called *l'Univers*." His letter undoubtedly had a profound influence upon some of the waverers among the Oxford Movement who read it, and who found in it one more evidence that their earnest searchings after truth were not being entirely ignored or distrusted among Catholics.

In October, 1841, four years before Newman's final surrender, he was at long last able to come definitely to England. From Oscott, he proceeded to make his first English foundation at Aston, and he concentrated his personal mission upon the town of Stone. An Italian, speaking English with an almost unintelligible foreign accent, and defying all the prejudices of an intensely Protestant town by walking through the streets day after day with bare feet and in his poor religious dress, he quickly attracted a fierce personal hostility. Crowds soon began to assemble in the streets to watch him pass, to shout coarse insults, throw stones at him, and cover him with mud. A great scar remained on his forehead till his death, where a heavy stone had hit him; and on another occasion he was barely missed by a heavy beam which would probably have killed him outright. Only his own personal example of heroic and serene endurance day after day can have nerved the few poor Catholics to persevere in coming to him for confession and to hear Mass where none had been said since the days of the Reformation. Yet he made converts continually even among his

bitterest opponents, amid these daily dangers and horrors which he endured with unfailing fortitude for years. It was no wonder that Wiseman loved him, and that Newman and his supercilious friends at Oxford soon changed their old opinion that " sanctity " was not to be found among the Roman Catholics. His fame gradually spread far and wide, and in the year after he received Newman's submission he made his second foundation in Gloucestershire. Three years later, worn out with physical suffering and strain, he died, having to outward appearance done no more than assist in the conversion of several of the principal Tractarian leaders, and having established only two houses of his Order in England. But the two foundations were to spread later into other parts of England, and into Ireland and Australia ; and in the closing years of his life he was to see himself, in the immigration of so many refugees from the famine in Ireland, a new accession to the forces of Catholicism in England, utterly different to the stream of cultured converts upon which his friends Bishop Wiseman and Father Spencer had built their hopes.

CHAPTER IV

EVENTFUL YEARS

THOSE who had for so long distrusted the enthusiasm with which Dr. Wiseman—still only a young coadjutor bishop, and admittedly unused to English conditions—had counted upon the submission of Newman, and the subsequent harvest of conversions that might be expected from his surrender, now had to confess that his dreams were being amazingly fulfilled. But suspicion lingered for years as to the sincerity, or, at any rate, the dependability, of Newman, who had taken so long to make up his mind, and who had surrounded his ultimate submission with so much reserve and secrecy. The first feelings of distrust were to be replaced before very long by a sense of jealousy at the growing ascendancy of the ex-Anglican clergymen who had brought to the Church an intellectual force and influence to which the old Catholics had never made any claim; and the resulting conflict was to endure for more than a whole generation. But for Wiseman at Oscott it was a time of immense spiritual exaltation. He felt no satisfaction in contradicting the gloomy predictions of the older Catholics, no jubilation at having been able to demonstrate the narrowness of their own outlook. His whole mind was wrapped up in the conversion of England through the preliminary stage of the Tractarian Movement; and the accession of Newman to the Church was, to him, only the beginning of a Catholic revival which might develop almost beyond the bounds of imagination.

To him Newman and his friends turned inevitably for support in the loneliness and desolation of their new departure ; and to Oscott they went quickly for their confirmation. On 31st October, 1845, Newman arrived at Oscott, where his former curate, Bernard Smith, was among those ready to receive him with unbounded joy. Smith was present at their first meeting, and he contributed afterwards to Wilfrid Ward an account of the strained scene in which they met. " The great Oxford leader," he wrote, " who had at last owned that Rome had conquered, had come, as it were, to surrender his sword to the men who had so strenuously urged surrender as his only course. Orders disowned, preferments resigned, he came in poverty and simplicity to ask for confirmation at the hands of the bishop. His faith and conviction brought him to Oscott, but they could not untie his tongue or rid him of the embarrassment which belonged to the situation. In company with John Walker and Ambrose St. John, he was ushered into the Oscott guest room, and in a few minutes Bishop Wiseman, with Mr. Bernard Smith and Father Ignatius Spencer, entered the room. The embarrassment was mutual, and Wiseman could scarcely find words for more than formal inquiries about the journey. Any touch of exultation, or any expression of commonplace and conventional congratulation, would, as all instinctively felt, outrage a situation in which the leading mind was so highly wrought that silence seemed the only possible course. The two principal figures sat almost silent, while their companions talked more readily to each other. A message which shortly announced that a boy was waiting to go to confession to the bishop gave Wiseman an excuse for retiring, which he accepted with significant alacrity." Next day the confirmation took place, and, after the ice had thus

been broken, " much conversation on the past and future ensued."

Wiseman might well rejoice. " On All-saints' " he wrote from Oscott to Dr. Russell, of Maynooth, " Newman, Oakeley, and the other two (*i.e.* St. John and Walker) were confirmed, and we had *ten* quondam Anglican clergymen in the chapel. Has this ever happened before since the Reformation ? Newman took the name of Mary ; Oakeley, Bernard and Mary. Newman stayed with us Sunday and half of Monday, and he and all his party then expressed themselves, and have done so since, highly gratified by all they saw and felt. Oakeley stays with us altogether. Newman's plans are not finally determined, nor will they be till his book is finished. But he opened his mind completely to me ; and I assure you the Church has not received, at any time, a convert who has joined her in more docility and simplicity of faith than Newman." So Wiseman was gradually grouping around him at Oscott a growing band of convert intellectuals. His own openly acknowledged belief that the English Catholics must be ready, if events should so determine, to yield the leadership of the Church in England to the brilliantly gifted and devout men who only a few years before had been denouncing the Church, could not fail to arouse misgivings and antagonism among those who were convinced that he was constantly misled through ignorance of English conditions and tradition. But the submission of Newman had shaken the confidence of Wiseman's critics ; and in the following years a new atmosphere arose in which men scarcely dared to dismiss any hope as unimaginable. Father Robert Whitty, the future Provincial of the Jesuits in England, knew many of the Oxford converts intimately, and he shared the general belief in the possibility of extraordinary

developments. " There was a general sense that supernatural agencies were in operation," writes Wilfrid Ward in his Life of Newman, " and there was in the atmosphere that faith which works wonders. For years the old English Catholics had laughed at the bare idea of the Oxford school submitting to the Holy See. Their Catholicism had been treated as unpractical antiquarianism. So unlooked-for a marvel as the conversion of Newman and his friends brought a reaction, and men were now prepared for any marvels that might follow."

What, in the meantime, was Newman to do ? His future perplexed him scarcely less than it puzzled everyone else. Wiseman, with his customary impulsiveness, wanted him to become a priest at once, and to found a new congregation for converts like himself. But even the priesthood was more than Newman was yet prepared to contemplate. Wiseman provided an immediate and acceptable solution of the problem by offering the old college buildings at Oscott as a temporary home to him and his friends. The anticipated influx of more converts began to materialise quickly. Newman was soon able to write in confidence to Dalgairns, to announce that Frederick Faber, Watts-Russell, Francis Knox and eight others were now awaited at Oscott, where they were all to be received into the Church. Wiseman's generous and sympathetic hospitality had made Oscott the centre to which the majority of Oxford converts now turned. Newman also was there to greet them. They came in a steady stream, so that Dean Church described afterwards how the few Tractarian survivors in Oxford " sat glumly at our breakfasts every morning, and then someone came in with news of something disagreeable—someone gone, someone sure to go." And the new colony of converts at old Oscott, which Newman had renamed " Maryvale,"

gradually became a centre from which radiated a more potent and active influence than had ever been exercised by him, even from the hermitage of Littlemore.

Wiseman realised quickly the difficulties and the friction that could not fail to arise between so considerable a group of converts and the old Catholics. He kept the converts close to himself, to save them from discouragement, and did all in his power to mobilise, among his own friends, men like Dr. Russell, of Maynooth, and Fr. Whitty, who could be counted upon to befriend them. Meanwhile, Newman and his friends realised the necessity of making themselves familiar with Catholic life in the country before setting out to Rome, where Wiseman believed that the leading converts should, whenever possible, pass a considerable time. Newman entered into the new atmosphere with complete cordiality, although Faber showed greater reserve; and after a series of visits to Prior Park, Ushaw, Stonyhurst and Old Hall, he had acquired a fairly comprehensive acquaintance with existing conditions. He began to feel much more confident of an early fusion, especially through the sympathy of the younger men, between converts and old Catholics. Wiseman himself was well aware of the coldness and distrust that they would encounter, and he looked to Rome, not only as the ideal training ground for the new converts of whom he expected such great things, but as the authoritative influence which would overcome the antipathy between both parties. The stream of converts continued, and his letters report month after month a succession of new arrivals, many of them clergymen. "You cannot think how cheerful Newman now is," he wrote, "and how at home he makes himself amongst us. He will soon be known to all the clergy, and become popular among them." Newman himself

described afterwards how he had found himself welcomed and honoured at Oscott, " the whole house, boys as well as the authorities of the place, receiving him with open arms."

But the influx of converts who had come over after Newman's surrender was already beginning to produce a really embarrassing problem. In a great number of cases, and particularly for the married clergymen, conversion involved the immediate sacrifice of occupation and livelihood ; while the prejudice against Catholicism was still so intense that many young members of famous or prosperous families were cut adrift by their parents and refused all further assistance. Already, even in 1845, Wiseman found himself beset with unforeseen anxieties. " Scarcely a day passes," he wrote, " that I do not hear of someone who is on the point or in the thought of joining us and losing often their all. In their number are several married clergymen who are unfit for secular employment, and yet with their livings lose everything. This is a serious matter weighing heavily upon us. I have taken some preliminary steps towards meeting the most pressing exigencies of this state of things, but it is really only a beginning and a trifle. . . . The question is not of providing an asylum for the celibates and Littlemorians, but of assisting, at least temporarily, those who, in coming over, give up all, and are from circumstances unable to do anything for themselves. There are one or two very able men in that painful position. The same is to be said of ladies who lose their situations by becoming Catholics. . . . The spirit of inquiry and dissatisfaction among clergymen and educated persons in the Anglican Church is spreading in every direction, and we cannot know how it will end."

The problem became so acute that appeals were soon

being issued for donations to relieve the destitution of many of those who became known as " Mr. Newman's victims." A letter from Dr. Doyle, of Southwark, appeared in the *Tablet* in 1845, which shows that Wiseman was not alone in his solicitude for their support. " Justice demands of the members of the Church," wrote Dr. Doyle, " that they look to their suffering fellow-members ; and mercy cries out shame on us if we forget the sacrifices these men have made for the faith once delivered to the saints. Let those converts not be forgotten who are now struggling in the world, some of them with large families, buffeted to and fro by every adverse wind, the coldest of which and the most trying is pinching poverty. Let them and their case be remembered. Can nothing be done for those who have relinquished their livings in the Anglican Establishment, and thrown themselves almost penniless upon the world ? Is nothing to be provided for those whose clasping of the faith has cut them out from all their holdings and sent them adrift on a world more merciless than a raging sea ? Shall no door be opened for those against whom every door is now shut, no new prospect opened over those on whom every prospect has closed ? Can nothing be done for them ? Is it not a paramount duty to look to them ? " But fifty years were to pass before Pope Leo XIII, in the closing years of his long pontificate, wrote a letter to Cardinal Vaughan which led to the foundation of the Converts' Aid Society, to provide expressly for the former clergymen of the Church of England who had become Catholics. In the meanwhile, they had to face not only the agony of separation from their work, their former ties, and their friends, but a very genuine feeling of distrust among the Catholics with whom they had to form new associations.

It is not the least of Wiseman's claims upon the memory of English Catholics that in these years of trial and confusion he lavished his energies and his generous enthusiasm upon the problem of smoothing over the difficulties which almost every convert at that period experienced. There were moments when the discouragements he encountered almost overwhelmed him. In a memorandum which he wrote at the time to relieve his feelings he wrote : " Perhaps seldom before have I felt more completely the peculiarity of my position in my *total isolation* as regards support and counsel, as well as sympathy and concurrence in views and plans. I came to England and into this district and college without a claim upon anyone's kindness or indulgence, with overrated abilities, exaggerated reputation for learning, overestimated character in every respect. I was placed in a position of heavy responsibility and arduous labour. No one on earth knows what I went through in head and heart during my years of silent and solitary sorrow. In the house I have reason now to know that *not one* was working with me, thought with me, or felt with me. Many an hour of the lonely night have I passed in prayer and tears by the lamp of the sanctuary ; many a long night has passed over, sleepless. . . . How few sympathised (Mr. Spencer did, certainly) with the tone of soothing and inviting kindness which from the beginning Roman education had taught me to adopt, the voice of compassion and charity. . . . Newspaper assaults, remonstrances by letter (and from some of our most gifted Catholics), sharp rebukes by word of mouth . . . were, indeed, my portion, as though I compromised the truth and palliated error ; as though I narrowed the distance between the two by trying to throw a bridge over the hideous chasm, that men might pass from one to another. Hence when one (and,

thank God ! the only one) of our good converts fell back after receiving orders, I was publicly taunted with it in newspapers, and privately in every way, and was told by a friend that he was glad of it, because it would open my eyes to the false plane on which I had gone. And yet I had been careful to consult the Holy See through propaganda before acting in this case."

Ill-health added to Wiseman's difficulties and increased his natural tendency to moods of despondency. But in the autumn of 1846 Newman had finished his book and was able to go to Rome with Ambrose St. John, where other leading converts joined them. They remained there for a number of months ; during which historic events and upheavals took place in Italy, which brought them a more vivid sense of the vitality of the Holy See in face of the modern world than they could probably have obtained at any other time. The events were so important and so dramatic that they must be recalled briefly as part of the development through which the Church in England was now passing. Pius IX had just become Pope before Newman's arrival, and, in the atmosphere which the younger generation had created of enthusiasm for popular reforms that would demonstrate the sympathy of the Holy See with the modern world, had initiated a series of measures which led the younger Nationalists to acclaim him as their leader. " Young Italy " was chiefly concerned to achieve its own emancipation from control by Austria ; and many of the Italian clergy were already strongly in sympathy with the movement. Popular constitutions were conceded in turn to Tuscany, Naples and Turin, and the influence of Pius IX was traced in every extension of the new programme of democratic concessions. Dean Church records how the words " Viva Pio Nono " were " written up on almost every other door

in the little towns that I passed through—and there is no title too grand for him in the various inscriptions in his honour, from the placards at the street corner to the lofty Latin compositions in San Petronio." And even *The Times* had to admit that " at a crisis when every other constituted authority has been more or less shaken and every other institution tried, the Roman hierarchy has in all countries where it exists extended its influence and displayed its power."

That sentence was all the more remarkable because at the very time when it was written plans were being actually formulated for the restoration of a hierarchy in England ; and in July, 1847, Wiseman arrived in Rome for the express purpose of making definite proposals and endeavouring to obtain their immediate acceptance. He had been in correspondence with Newman during the whole previous year, and Newman was already well advanced towards carrying through the project which Wiseman had conceived, of his becoming the head of a new religious congregation in England, established for a special purpose. Wiseman had thought alternatively of enlisting Newman and his friends as teachers of divinity and philosophy ; but the difficulties were great, and it was decided that the example of St. Philip Neri, in establishing his first oratory in Rome as a centre for influencing and training the minds of young men, was a more promising plan. Elaborate investigations were made to ascertain the best method of proceeding to work ; and Newman had by the spring of 1847 already got the main lines of their programme fairly clear. The Roman authorities had accepted the idea with enthusiasm, and the Pope himself had given his approval, and even promised a house in Rome and the supervision of an experienced oratorian if more men were sent to Rome to join in the community while it was

being trained for work in England. Newman had decided in favour of Birmingham, rather than London, as the home of the first oratory, and was counting upon "Maryvale" as "a sort of mother house, where novices might be trained, supposing the institution to spread into other towns besides Birmingham." He was already considering the architecture of the new building—which he was afraid would shock the Gothic Pugin.

Within a few months the plans for the new oratory were fully completed, and Newman and his friends went to Santa Croce, where the Pope had decided that their novitiate should be passed. But in the summer, Wiseman had been busy in Rome with the larger and more dramatic proposal for restoring the English hierarchy. His own return to England in 1840 had been made possible by the Pope's decision to increase the number of vicars-apostolic from four to eight. It was evident that the time was not distant when the provisional arrangement of entrusting the English Church to vicars-apostolic, instead of having a fully organised hierarchy, must come to an end. The Catholic population was increasing steadily, and the last few years had seen an enormous influx of poor Catholic immigrants fleeing from the famine in Ireland. The recent accession of converts from the Oxford Movement had given further evidence of the need for a more satisfactory ecclesiastical organisation; and Wiseman was specially qualified to lay this aspect of the question before the Holy See. The main outlines of the question are best described in the memorandum which was prepared by Wiseman himself. "It was observed," he wrote, "that until now the only regulation or code of government possessed by the English Catholics was the constitution of Pope Benedict XIV, which was issued in 1753. Now this constitution had grown obsolete

by the very length of time, and still more by a happy change of circumstances. It was based upon the following considerations: first, that the Catholics were still under the pressure of heavy penal laws, and enjoying no liberty of conscience; second, that all their colleges for ecclesiastical education were situated abroad; third, that the religious orders had no houses in England; fourth, that there was nothing approaching to a parochial division, but that most Catholic places of worship were the private chapels, and their incumbents the chaplains, of noblemen and gentlemen. There are other similar suppositions in that document—full as it is of wisdom—which, thank God! at the present time appear as simple anachronisms. It was agreed, therefore, that virtually this—the only great constitution existing for Catholic England, part even of which had already been formally repealed by the late Pope—was rather a clog and an embarrassment than a guide. . . . The bishops, it was urged, found themselves perplexed, and their situation full of difficulty; as they earnestly desired to be guarded from arbitrary decisions by fixed rules, and yet had none provided for them. . . . Either the Holy See must issue another and full constitution which would supply all wants, but which would be necessarily complicated and voluminous, and, as a special provision, would necessarily be temporary; or, the real and complete code of the Church must be at once extended to the Catholic Church in England, so far as compatible with its social position; and this provision would be final. But, in order to adopt this second and more natural expedient, one condition was necessary, and that was: *the Catholics must have a hierarchy*. The canon law is inapplicable under vicars-apostolic; and, besides, many points would have to be synodically adjusted, and without a metropolitan

and suffragans, a provincial synod was out of the question."

Such was the main object of Wiseman's visit to Rome, in addition to assisting Newman in completing his preparations for the oratory. But within a week of his arrival dramatic occurrences broke out in Rome, which made negotiations impossible for the time being. On 16th July a conspiracy was discovered, by an extraordinary accident, which was intended to include the assassination of the Pope. Ciphered letters came into the hands of Cardinal Antonelli, the President of the Council of Ministers, and the clue to the cipher was obtained only a few hours before the outbreak was due to take place. In the early hours of the morning the ringleaders were discovered in the very act of preparation, and were arrested. Excitement raged in Rome, and the growing hostility towards Austria increased simultaneously, owing to the recent occupation of Ferrara by Austrian troops. Austria alone had stood out against the reforms which had been chiefly initiated by the Pope, and the Pope's advisers now turned to England as the natural ally of constitutional reform against despotic government. Wiseman's presence in Rome enabled the Pope to utilise his previous close relations with the English Government, and he was sent back to London on a diplomatic mission. His efforts were immediately successful, and Lord Minto was sent at once with plenipotentiary powers for a special mission to various States of Italy and particularly to Rome. But the tide of popular excitement had already arisen beyond all control, and the Pope was before long subjected to embarrassing demonstrations of revolutionary enthusiasm in the streets. Large concessions became inevitable, and on 10th March a new Ministry, under Cardinal Antonelli's Presidency, introduced a

full system of representative government in the Papal States. A few days later Milan rose in revolt against the Austrians, and the war fever grew more intense, while the Pope did all in his power to resist it. Antonelli's Ministry collapsed in April, and in August the Pope made his last effort to keep pace with the revolutionary movement by appointing Count Rossi as Prime Minister, who now drafted a scheme for a federal Government in Italy under the Presidency of the Pope.

Wiseman had not returned again from Rome after his diplomatic mission, but had remained in London, having been appointed, temporarily, Vicar-Apostolic of the London District; and the plans for restoring the hierarchy were in abeyance owing to the disturbed state of Rome until, in the spring of 1848, Bishop Ullathorne arrived to resume the negotiations. The plans had never received unanimous assent in England, and Cardinal Acton in Rome was definitely opposed to them. But Ullathorne found that Wiseman's pleading in the previous year had already succeeded. The principle had already been approved, and only the details remained to be worked out. For ten weeks Ullathorne was busy perfecting the scheme, and he left Rome in August, expecting that the decree establishing the new hierarchy would be promulgated at once. But he left Rome on the very eve of a revolution which delayed its promulgation for two years, having in the meantime transformed the whole character of Pio Nono's pontificate. False reports of an Italian victory over the Austrians had been spread that night, although the Italian army had, in fact, been cut in two; and the mob stormed into the churches of Rome, rang the church bells, and broke into revolution. The Pope's Prime Minister, Count Rossi, was assassinated, and Mgr. Palma, who had for long been a close ally of the English

bishops, was shot dead at a window of the Quirinal. The Pope's own life was in constant danger from day to day. He was for a time kept a prisoner in the Quirinal, but presently he decided to leave Rome. Aided by the Bavarian Minister, and by adopting the extremely ingenious plan of escape conceived by the Minister's English wife, he eluded pursuit and found refuge at Gaeta under the protection of the King of Naples. Defenceless and faced with overwhelming danger, Pio Nono at once issued a number of courageous manifestoes. He excommunicated the usurpers of the Papal States and appealed to the Powers to defend him from injustice. At the same time he issued an appeal to the Catholic bishops of all the world, in a document which aroused universal sympathy. His appeal to the Powers was successful, and on 30th March, 1849, their plenipotentiaries assembled at Gaeta, and the French Government undertook to restore his sovereignty. Through all the turmoil and revolution the Pope carried on from Gaeta the supreme direction of Catholic affairs, and issued his famous address on the proposal to make an article of faith of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception.

The world watched with amazement and awe this extraordinary demonstration of courage by Pio Nono, and of the passionate loyalty shown to the Holy Father. To Newman and his old colleagues of Littlemore, who had now completed their novitiate at Santa Croce, and had just returned to England to undertake their new work of evangelisation, the spectacle was a source of infinite inspiration and hope. Another great English figure also, still far remote from any thought of submission to the Catholic Church—Archdeacon Manning, of Chichester—was in Rome at the same eventful time. Wilfrid Ward has quoted in his Life of Wiseman a

contemporary comment by *The Times*, which is a striking instance of the profound impression which was made everywhere by what was happening. Even *The Times* had to declare that " it is a matter of history, however singular and unwelcome such an assertion may sound, that in the very hour of his flight and fall Pius IX was and is more entirely Pope and head of the Latin Church than many hundreds of his predecessors have been amidst all the splendours of the Lateran. Personally, the deposed Pontiff has exhibited to the world no small share of evangelical virtues ; and though his political abilities proved inadequate to execute the moderate reforms he had entered on, from the unworthiness of his subjects and the infelicity of the times, yet the apparition of so benignant and conscientious a man on the Papal throne, in the midst of the turmoil of Europe, had forcibly struck the imagination and won the affection of the whole Roman Catholic population of Europe."

In England, the impression made by the intense and spontaneous loyalty displayed towards the Pope had brought an immense encouragement to all sections of Catholics, and had concentrated attention more than ever upon the growing revival of the Catholic Church. Newman wrote afterwards, in a remarkable passage, a description of how feelings suddenly changed from the ridicule which had been hurled at the Pope in the years during which he had tried to serve his people as a reforming ruler. " The Protestant public jeered and mocked at him as one whose career was over . . . yet he had supplied but a fresh instance of the heroic detachment of Popes and carried down the tradition of St. Peter into the age of railroads and newspapers. . . . A revolution breaks out in Europe, and a deep scheme is laid to mix up the Pope in secular politics of a contrary

character. He is to be the head of Italy, to range himself against the sovereigns of Europe, and to carry all things before him in the name of religion. He steadily refuses to accept the insidious proposal ; and at length he is driven out of his dominions, because, while he would ameliorate their condition, he would do so as a father and a prince, and not as the tool of a conspiracy. However, not many months pass, and the party of disorder is defeated, and he goes back to Rome again. Rome is his place, but it is little to him whether he is there or away, compared with the duty of fidelity to his trust."

And in his *Difficulties of Anglicans*, written in the years when Pio Nono returned to Rome, Newman revealed the enormous appeal to his own mind which had been made by the strange episode at Gaeta. " Punctual in its movements," he wrote, " precise in its operations, imposing in its equipments, with its spirits high and its step firm, with its haughty clarion and its black artillery, behold the mighty world is gone forth to war—with what ? With an unknown something, which it feels but cannot see ; which flits around it, which flaps against its cheek, with the air, with the wind. It charges and it slashes, and it fires its volleys, and it bayonets, and it is mocked by a foe who dwells in another sphere, and is far beyond the force of analysis, or the capacities of its calculus. The air gives way, and it returns again ; it exerts a gentle but constant pressure on every side ; moreover, it is of vital necessity to the very power which is attacking it. Whom have you gone out against ? A few old men, with red hats and stockings, or a hundred pale students, with eyes on the ground, and beads in their girdle ; they are as stubble : destroy them ; then there will be other old men, and other pale students, instead of them. But we will

direct our rage against one ; he flees ; what is to be done with him ? Cast him out upon the wide world ; but nothing can go on without him. Then bring him back ! But he will give us no guarantee for the future. Then leave him alone : his power is gone, he is at an end, or he will take a new course of himself ; he will take part with the State or the people. Meanwhile, the multitude of interests in active operation all over the great Catholic body rise up, as it were, all around, and encircle the combat, and hide the fortune of the day from the eyes of the world ; and unreal judgments are hazarded, and rash predictions, till the mist clears away, and then the old man is found in his own place, as before, saying Mass over the tomb of the Apostles."

Such was the atmosphere in which the last stage of the negotiations for restoring the English hierarchy was conducted. Wiseman had acted for two years as Vicar-Apostolic of the London District before the death of Dr. Walsh in 1849, when he became his successor. In July of the previous year he had taken part in the solemn opening of St. George's Church, Southwark, afterwards to become the cathedral, and at that time much the largest cathedral church to be built in England since the Reformation. Pugin had designed it with every possible splendour, and at the opening ceremony fourteen bishops were present in state. It was an historic event, on a scale greater than anything previously undertaken. Nearly 250 priests were present at the ceremony, and among the laity participating was the future Lord Acton, who acted as thurifer. Wiseman, who preached the sermon, was already the central figure of the occasion ; and his activity had produced astonishing results in so short a time. But within a few months his hopes and plans were suddenly cut short by his receiving from Cardinal Antonelli a communi-

cation of the Pope's intention to make him a cardinal—which in the ordinary course must have involved perpetual residence in Rome. He was still only in his forty-eighth year, and the honour was a magnificent recognition of the work he had already achieved. But his heart was now so inseparably attached to England that the news came to him as a crushing blow. It appears not to have occurred to him as a possibility that he was to be the first head of the new English hierarchy, and he set out for Rome in the summer of 1850 with a very heavy heart. In August he left England, and on 13th September he had a formal interview with the Pope. So many urgent entreaties that he should be allowed to remain in England had been sent to Rome before his arrival that the Pope had already made up his mind. At their next interview the Pope announced to him the great secret that the English hierarchy was to be restored almost immediately, and that he was to return to England as its head with the title of Archbishop of Westminster.

CHAPTER V

THE "PAPAL AGGRESSION"

SEPTEMBER 29th, 1850, was the date marked on the Papal brief which re-established the hierarchy in England, and Wiseman's famous pastoral which announced the fact to the Catholics of England was dated 7th October. Five days later he set out on his homeward journey from Rome. At each stage of his journey northwards through Italy he was received with all the ceremonial and honour that were shown to every cardinal; but the special significance of his journey was recognised everywhere. In Vienna he had two interviews with the Emperor of Austria, and his first exultation at the great news which he was to bring back to his own people in England had met with a confirmation such as he had never imagined when he set forth. But it was in Vienna that the first sudden shock of reality fell suddenly and unexpectedly upon his hitherto unbroken feelings of elation and rejoicing. Leaning back in his carriage as he drove through the streets of the Austrian capital, the new cardinal opened a belated copy of *The Times*, and in its leading article saw frequent mention of his own name. His own jubilant pastoral was already well on its way to England; and the issue of *The Times* which he was reading had appeared before his pastoral was even written. But the fact of his having been made a cardinal had already been recognised as a signal of impending developments, which *The Times*, without further waiting, proceeded

Cardinal Wiseman

to denounce in language that struck Wiseman as a devastating, personal blow.

" We are not surprised," said *The Times*, " that Dr. Wiseman, who has long been distinguished as one of the most learned and able members of the Roman Catholic priesthood in this country, should have been raised to the purple. . . . It is no concern of ours whether Dr. Wiseman chooses in Rome to be ranked with the monsignori of the capital. He is simply at Rome in the position of an English subject who has thought fit to enter the service of a foreign Power and accept its spurious dignities. But this nomination has been accompanied by one other circumstance which has a very different and very peculiar character. We are informed by the ' Official Gazette ' of Rome that the Pope having recently been pleased to erect the city of Westminster into an archbishopric, and to appoint Dr. Wiseman to that see, it is on this newfangled Archbishop of Westminster, so appointed, that the rank of cardinal is so conferred. . . . It may be that the elevation of Dr. Wiseman . . . signifies no more than if the Pope had been pleased to confer on the editor of the *Tablet* the rank and title of the Duke of Smithfield. But if this appointment be not intended as a clumsy joke, we confess that we can only regard it as one of the grossest acts of folly and impertinence which the Court of Rome has ventured to commit since the Crown and people of England threw off its yoke." So the long rigmarole proceeded. The Pope's " ridiculous and offensive step " was attributed to a desire to express political hostility for various insignificant reasons ; and it concluded by the truculent statement that " we are not sorry that their indiscretion has led them [the Pope and his advisers] to show the power which Rome would exercise if she could, by an

act which the laws of this country will never recognise, and which the public opinion of this country will deride and disavow, whenever His Grace the Archbishop of Westminster thinks fit to enter his diocese."

To Wiseman, on his triumphal journey from Rome—when all precedents had been ignored, in his honour, by the Archduke of Siena, so that he should drive with him in state; when he had been received with overwhelming distinction by the Emperor of Austria in his capital; and when he had already despatched to London his own pastoral announcing to English Catholics the event which repaired the ruin of centuries and embodied the hopes and ambitions of his life—this sudden and wholly unexpected avalanche of abuse and misrepresentation now came to displace all his joy with a sense of unbounded apprehension. He had no idea even yet what a tempest of passion and bigotry his own pastoral was to have aroused in Protestant England before he had yet come within reach of home. His spirits were immediately dejected; but in the first gathering of his forces to resist attacks he sat down at once and wrote an indignant private letter to Lord John Russell as Prime Minister—who had actually employed him to act as an informal negotiator for the British Government in Rome. His letter was a strong protest against the glaring misrepresentations in *The Times* article, and a reminder that the new constitution of the hierarchy had been not only drafted three years before, but submitted to Lord Minto for his approval. "With regard to myself," he wrote, "I beg to add that I am invested with a purely ecclesiastical dignity; that I have no secular or temporal delegation whatever; that my duties will be what they have ever been, to promote the morality of those committed to my charge, especially the masses of our poor; and to keep up those

feelings of goodwill and friendly intercommunion between Catholics and their fellow-countrymen, which I flatter myself I have been the means of somewhat improving." Meanwhile, Wiseman proceeded to complete the rest of his journey with all speed. All the first feeling of personal elation and happiness was for the present destroyed, and his diary contained no further entry of the details of what he saw and did during his magnificent progress home. On 7th November he reached Cologne, where the Cardinal Archbishop received him with a great welcome. Next day he was in Bruges, where a pile of urgent letters from England was already awaiting him.

More than a fortnight had now passed since his pastoral had reached London. By Sunday, 27th October, it had been read in all the churches ; in some of them it was read on 20th October. But even before that date *The Times* was already leading the Press in a hue and cry against the new " Papal aggression." " Is it, then, here in Westminster," it had shrieked on 29th October, " among ourselves, and by the English throne, that an Italian priest is to parcel out the spiritual dominion of this country—to employ the renegades of our national Church and restore a foreign usurpation over the consciences of men and to sow divisions in our political society by an undisguised and systematic hostility to the institutions most nearly identified with our national freedom and our national faith ? Such an intention must either be ludicrous or intolerable—either a delusion of some fanatical brain or treason to the constitution." A series of such outbursts in *The Times*, and a simultaneous explosion of similar prejudice and anger in the rest of the Press, had made the Catholic clergy realise the necessity for extreme caution and reticence until the excitement had died down.

Their feelings when they received the text of Cardinal Wiseman's exultant pastoral were difficult to describe. It had been written under great emotional excitement, in an atmosphere of immense religious enthusiasm in Rome itself, by a man who was temperamentally impulsive and incapable of appreciating the different attitude of others who were unaffected by what inspired or dominated him personally. It expressed with frank and unconcealed jubilation his unbounded rejoicings at the fulfilment of his own years of labour; and for the moment, under the influence of his emotional temperament, and owing to his long detachment from life in England, Wiseman had completely forgotten to consider what effect his words might have upon Protestants who could not fail to read in his first message to the English Catholics the announcement of a new regime. Even his own vicar-general, Dr. Whitty, read his manifesto with "immediate dismay." He saw at once how completely Wiseman had ignored the "terrific storm of Protestant feeling which the news of the hierarchy would create." "Every day," Dr. Whitty explained afterwards, "symptoms of the coming storm were speedily becoming more unmistakable." But it was too late to communicate with Wiseman himself, for he was already on his journey home, and no letters or messages could reach him until he arrived in Bruges. But to postpone publication of the pastoral, once it had reached him, was impossible. To modify or tamper with its wording was out of the question. And with a distinct foreboding of a new Protestant outburst, which might even take the same form as the Gordon riots of 1780, Dr. Whitty decided, after recourse to prayer, to publish the cardinal's manifesto without further delay.

Even now it is not difficult to imagine the fierce

indignation which the publication of the pastoral immediately aroused. The fact that it was dated " from out the Flaminian Gate of Rome " was a detail which provoked special resentment, as a deliberate symbol of claims to sovereignty. But the substance and the eloquent language of the pastoral itself were quite sufficiently inflammatory. Now that the tumult has subsided, its inspiration and its stirring appeal are as fresh as when the document was first written.

" The great work, then, is complete," wrote the new Archbishop of Westminster ; " what you have long desired and prayed for is granted. Your beloved country has received a place among the fair churches which, normally constituted, form the splendid aggregate of the Catholic communion ; Catholic England has been restored to its orbit in the ecclesiastical firmament, from which its light had long vanished, and begins now under its course of regularly-adjusted action round the centre of unity, the source of jurisdiction, of light, and of vigour. . . . Then truly is this day to us a day of joy and exaltation of spirit, the crowning day of long hopes, and the opening day of bright prospects." Even in its bare statement of facts the terms employed were certain to arouse Protestant hostility. " By a brief dated the same day," the new cardinal continued, " his Holiness was further pleased to appoint us, though most unworthy, to the archiepiscopal see of Westminster, established by the abovementioned letters apostolic, giving us at the same time the administration of the episcopal see of Southwark. So that at present, and till such time as the Holy See shall think fit otherwise to provide, we govern, and shall continue to govern, the counties of Middlesex, Hertford and Essex, as ordinary thereof, and those of Surrey, Sussex, Kent, Berkshire and Hampshire, with the

islands annexed, as administrator with ordinary jurisdiction."

Wilfrid Ward, in his Life of Wiseman, quotes various specimens of the fierce protests which such language immediately produced. *The Times* gave a vigorous expression to the sense of outrage which was felt on all sides. After professing its first inability to believe in "the extent of its impudence and absurdity," it described the details of the scheme for the new hierarchy. "All this laid down with the authority and minuteness of an Act of Parliament by a Papal Bull," it declared, "certainly constitutes one of the strangest pieces of mummery we have ever witnessed. We can only receive it as an audacious and conspicuous display of pretensions to resume the absolute spiritual dominion of this island which Rome has never abandoned, but which, by the blessing of Providence and the will of the English people, she shall never accomplish. . . . It is hardly less preposterous than the Bull of one of his predecessors in the fifteenth century which assigned to the crown of Portugal the undiscovered limits of the New World."

But the newspaper protests were only symptoms of a much more formidable opposition. The Bishop of Durham, among others, forwarded to Lord John Russell, as Prime Minister, a furious protest against the new hierarchy and Cardinal Wiseman's announcement of it; and the Prime Minister, in a public reply, abandoned all restraint in the expression of his feelings. "I agree with you," he wrote back, "in considering the late aggression of the Pope upon our Protestantism" as "insolent and insidious," and "I therefore feel as indignant as you can do upon the subject. . . . There is an assumption of power in all the documents which have come from Rome—a pretension to suprem-

acy over the realm of England, and a claim to sole and individual sway, which is inconsistent with the Queen's supremacy, with the rights of our bishops and clergy, and with the spiritual independence of the nation as asserted even in Roman Catholic times." He then proceeded to attack the Romanising tendencies of a section of the Church of England with equal vigour, and concluded with a flamboyant expression of confidence in " the nation which looks with contempt on the mummeries of superstition, and with scorn at the laborious endeavours which are now making to confine the intellect and enslave the soul." A few weeks later, at the Guildhall, Lord John Russell expatiated in similar terms in a public speech; while even the Lord Chancellor, speaking at the Mansion House dinner, set the tone for an almost unprecedented campaign of fanatical calumny by solemnly quoting, amid prodigious applause, the truculent lines :—

> " Under our feet we'll stamp thy cardinal's hat,
> In spite of Pope or dignities of Church."

After these outbursts by the Prime Minister and the Lord Chancellor a frenzy of bigotry broke forth all over the country; while the Anglican bishops, ignoring the fact that the Pope had already restored the hierarchy in Australia and in Canada without incurring any hostile protest, delivered themselves of fierce denunciations. The phrases used by the Protestant Bishops make curious reading to-day, and there were few who did not add their voices to the chorus of fanatical abuse. Insults about " foreign intruders " and " foreign bondage " by the Bishops of Salisbury and Oxford were capped by the Bishop of Bangor's references to " a foreign prince insolent in his degradation." The Bishop of Ripon shouted that " Rome clings to her

abominations " ; his lordship of Hereford spoke of the " sorcerer's cup " and " the crafts of Satan " ; the Bishop of Oxford declared that the Roman Church was " subtle and unclean " ; while his lordship of Carlisle denounced her claims as " profane, blasphemous and anti-Christian," and asserted that " England is defiled by her pollutions." In turn they proceeded to describe the Pope's " aggression " as " unparalleled," " indecent," or " audacious." The Bishop of Hereford protested against the Papal brief as " a frivolous and contemptible document," and the Bishop of Exeter denounced it as a " shameless demonstration," a " daring display of Roman ambition."

Not for years had there been such a coincidence of popular excitement with the festivities of Guy Fawkes' Day. Lord John Russell's letter, appearing on 4th November, gave the signal for a gorgeous display of bonfires, in which the effigies of Cardinal Wiseman and of the Pope provided an element of real excitement and patriotic indignation. At Salisbury a complete outfit of effigies of the Pope, Wiseman and the twelve new Catholic bishops had been elaborately staged. By five o'clock in the afternoon the main streets had become impassable with a dense and excited crowd. At dusk some hundreds of torches were lit in preparation for the grand spectacle at half-past six, when " his Holiness was brought out " (to quote the newspaper report) " amid the cheering of the populace. The procession being formed, proceeded in the following order : torch-bearers, brass-band, torch-bearers, his Holiness in full pontificals, seated in a huge chair ; torch-bearers, bishops, three abreast ; torch-bearers, Cardinal Wiseman, etc. etc. Within the precincts of the close the National Anthem was played amid deafening cheers. The procession having paraded the city, the effigies

were taken to the Green Croft, where, over a large number of faggots and barrels of tar, a huge platform was erected of timber; the effigies were placed thereon, and a volley of rockets sent up. The band played the Doxology, and deafening cheers followed. A light being supplied to the combustibles below, the flames rose to the platform; hundreds of fireworks were then hurled at the effigies. Then followed the Morning Hymn and the National Anthem, in which thousands joined." Similar scenes of enthusiasm were reported from all parts of the country. The crowds in many places went on to demonstrate outside Catholic churches. Windows were broken and stones hurled at priests in the streets. It seemed most uncomfortably probable that a renewal of the Lord George Gordon riots was at any moment about to begin.

Meanwhile, Wiseman, quite unconscious as yet of the popular fury which his enthusiastic announcement of the Pope's decision had produced, was still proceeding homewards across Europe, encountering demonstrations of congratulation and encouragement wherever he halted on his journey. In London the leading Catholics were consulting feverishly as to how the prevailing excitement could be appeased, and as to how Wiseman could be warned of the personal danger he had himself incurred. Their opinion was almost unanimous in favour of his not setting foot in England for some time. Some thought he ought to return at once to Rome and consult the Pope; others that he had better find some pretext for staying in Belgium or France until the ferment had subsided. His vicar-general sent him a full report of what had happened. It decided him to act boldly and at once; and very early in the morning of 11th November, only a few days after the orgy of bonfires, he arrived in London and went straight to St.

George's, Southwark. When his vicar-general arrived at the house, having had no time even to receive word of the cardinal's intention to return, he found him already writing, on a sheet of foolscap, the first page of his " Appeal to the English people."

That he should believe it possible to calm the storm by writing anything further seemed to his friends at first to be a hopeless lack of understanding of English conditions. Everyone had been waiting desperately for some word as to what he proposed to do. Was he now going to make matters worse by further public statements ? Sir George Bowyer was commissioned forthwith to go as his emissary to the Government ; and in several interviews with Lord Lansdowne he found that the other Ministers deplored Lord John Russell's letter and felt that there had been an " enormous misunderstanding." With great speed, interrupted at almost every moment by urgent requests for guidance and for prompt decisions, Wiseman continued his work upon his manifesto to the English people ; and within four days of his arrival it was finished. His first public appearance outside St. George's had created immense excitement, though no incident occurred ; but in the following days he was frequently hooted and stones were hurled at his carriage windows. There seemed no possibility as yet of any lull in the storm which his first pastoral had aroused. At last, on 19th November, his great appeal appeared ; and on the following day it was reproduced *in extenso* in five of the London newspapers. *The Times* gave up nearly seven columns of close, small type to it. The circulation of the pamphlet was enormous as well. By the following Monday thirty thousand copies had been sold.

Its appearance was a turning-point in Wiseman's life, and in the history of Catholicism in England. No one

had dreamed what resources of popular appeal the cardinal possessed to meet an occasion which no one else could have hoped to dominate. Tributes to it appeared quickly in all the more reasonable organs of opinion. Even *The Times* was thrown back on to the defensive, and took refuge in an ironical congratulation to the cardinal (whom it still called Dr. Wiseman) " on his recovery of the use of the English language." It is unnecessary to recall here the details of his argument. His description of the storm of unscrupulous abuse and misrepresentation which had burst upon the announcement of " the new form of ecclesiastical government which Catholics regarded as a blessing and an honour " was a magnificent piece of eloquence. Having dealt directly with the unrestrained outbursts by the Prime Minister and Lord Chancellor, he proceeded with a fine gesture to appeal straight to the English people themselves. " While thus the avenues to public justice seemed closed against us," he went on ; " while the Press has condemned us and raised our death-whoop, in spite of proffered explanations, deaf to every call for a fair hearing ; while we may consider that the door of the treasury may be barred against us, if we knock to ask, not for pensions or funds, but for a reasonable hearing ; when the very highest judicial authority has prejudged and cut off all appeal from us, what resource have we yet left ? What hope of justice ? One in which, after God's unfailing providence, we place unbounded confidence. There still remain the manly sense and honest heart of a generous people ; that love of honourable dealing and fair play which, in joke or in earnest, is equally the instinct of an Englishman ; that hatred of all mean advantage taken, of all base tricks and paltry clap-trap and party cries employed to hunt down even a rival or a foe. To this

open-fronted and warm-hearted tribunal I make my appeal, and claim, on behalf of myself and my fellow-Catholics, a fair, free and impartial hearing. Fellow-subjects, Englishmen, be you at least just and equitable. You have been deceived—you have been misled, both as to facts and as to intentions."

On that basis he proceeded to answer the various charges which had been levelled against the new hierarchy. The Government was in fact in a hopelessly illogical position, having raised no objection previously to the establishment of Catholic hierarchies in the Colonies, and having actually recognised the Irish hierarchy in the most formal way. Disraeli pointed this out at once when a meeting of the electors of Buckinghamshire was being convened in protest, shifting the attack from Wiseman on to Lord John Russell himself. On the question of precedents, no less than on his demand for liberty of conscience and its corollary—liberty to exercise the necessary organisation of religious worship, Wiseman had a perfectly straightforward case; and no controversialist could have made more effective use of his opportunities. But the end of his long appeal was his most crushing retort, and it not only covered his critics with ridicule and scorn, but suggested an unforgettably vivid picture of the work which lay before the new hierarchy, and particularly before himself. "The Chapter of Westminster," he wrote, "has been the first to protest against the new archiepiscopal title, as though some practical attempt at jurisdiction within the *Abbey* was intended. Then let me give them assurance on that point, and let us come to a fair division and a good understanding." Westminster, he pointed out, included two very different parts; the stately Abbey, which Wiseman said that he still hoped to visit—"to

say my prayers by the shrine of good St. Edward, and meditate on the olden times, when the church filled without a coronation, and multitudes hourly worshipped without a service." With its temporal rights, he asserted, he had no concern whatever. " Whenever I go in, I will pay my entrance-fee like other liege subjects, and resign myself meekly to the guidance of the beadle, and listen, without rebuke, when he points out to my admiration detestable monuments, or shows me a hole in the wall for a confessional." These were deft thrusts in repartee ; but the sting of his tremendous counter-attack came in the last paragraph, when he pointed to the neglect by the Abbey of the poor who swarmed around it, and whose spiritual and material welfare he demanded the right to serve.

" This splendid monument, its treasures of art, and its fitting endowments," he went on, " form not the part of Westminster which will concern me. For there is another part which stands in frightful contrast, though in immediate contact, with this magnificence. In ancient times, the existence of an abbey on any spot, with a large staff of clergy and ample revenues, would have sufficed to create around it a little paradise of comfort, cheerfulness and ease. This, however, is not now the case. Close under the Abbey of Westminster there lie concealed labyrinths of lanes and courts, and alleys and slums, nests of ignorance, vice, depravity and crime, as well as of squalor, wretchedness and disease ; whose atmosphere is typhus, whose ventilation is cholera ; in which swarms a huge and almost countless population, in great measure, nominally at least, Catholic ; haunts of filth, which no sewage committee can reach—dark corners, which no lighting board can brighten. This is the part of Westminster which alone I covet, and which I shall be glad to claim

and to visit, as a blessed pasture in which sheep of Holy Church are to be tended, in which a bishop's godly work has to be done, of consoling, converting and preserving. And if, as I humbly trust in God, it shall be seen that this special culture, arising from the establishment of our hierarchy, bears fruit of order, peacefulness, decency, religion and virtue, it may be that the Holy See shall not be thought to have acted unwisely, when it bound up the very soul and salvation of a chief pastor with those of a city, whereof the name, indeed, is glorious, but the purlieus infamous—in which the very grandeur of its public edifices is as a shadow to screen from the public eye sin and misery the most appalling. If the wealth of the Abbey be stagnant and not diffusive, if it in no way rescues the neighbouring population from the depths in which it is sunk, let there be no jealousy of anyone who, by whatever name, is ready to make the latter his care, without interfering with the former."

CHAPTER VI

THE CONVERSION OF MANNING

WISEMAN'S " Appeal " at once gave new heart to the Catholics, and set before them with superb eloquence and sincerity the ideals with which he entered upon his new responsibilities as Archbishop of Westminster. It was a specially encouraging gesture to the Irish Catholics who were already swarming in the slums of Liverpool, London, Manchester and other cities. And his bold leadership now rallied around him the descendants of the Catholic gentry who, two generations before, would have never dared to face the storm of obloquy which had been raised. Only two members of the Catholic peerage now sought to dissociate themselves from the action of the Holy See, in the timid tradition of the old Catholic committee. Lord Beaumont published a letter written by himself to the Earl of Zetland, which expressed the old-fashioned mixed feelings of distrust towards Rome and obsequious loyalty to the civil powers. " The late bold and clearly expressed edict of the Court of Rome," wrote Lord Beaumont, " cannot be received or accepted by English Roman Catholics without a violation of their duties as citizens " ; and he applauded Lord John Russell's letter by saying that the line of conduct now adopted by him was " that of a true friend of the British constitution." Lord Beaumont's attitude was shared by the Duke of Norfolk, who, even after the publication of Wiseman's " Appeal," and after it had compelled many of the principal newspapers to

alter their tone, wrote to Lord Beaumont to say that " I so entirely coincide with the opinions in your letter to Lord Zetland that I must write to you to express my agreement with you. I should think that many must feel, as we do, that ultramontane opinions are totally incompatible with allegiance to our sovereign and with our constitution."

In contrast with these two melancholy examples of timidity and disloyalty to the Holy See, Lord Stourton wrote formally to *The Times* to regret his own inability to be present at a Catholic meeting which had been held in Yorkshire, where an address had been presented to the Queen in protest against the agitation over the new hierarchy. The division of opinion on the question was noted by the more experienced observers at the time as symptomatic of deep changes ; and the *Guardian* remarked acutely that " the strength of Romanism in this country, even as a political power, is no longer confined to noblemen's castles. . . . It is something rougher, more energetic, more aggressive, less English in its attachments and sympathies, and less amenable to influences which may not uncharitably be supposed to have some weight with the premier duke, earl-marshal, and hereditary marshal of England."

But it was among non-Catholics, even more than among the Catholic body, that Cardinal Wiseman's " Appeal " had its most far-reaching effects. Even *The Times*, in its most arrogant period, found it necessary to adopt a different tone, and to answer, as best it could by ironical insinuations, the charge that it had " pronounced an opinion against the Pope and the cardinal unheard." It now professed to accept Wiseman's assurance that " he merely came amongst us as a dissenting minister, the head of a voluntary association, to manage the spiritual affairs of the Catholics

scattered up and down England." Even still, it found it advisable to throw new insults at Wiseman's head—to talk of his " empty gasconades and pompous manifestoes, the very sweepings of a literary wardrobe now nearly worn out, and never very tastefully selected." And it concluded by a renewed appeal to prejudice against the Church of Rome, which expressed with characteristic energy the blindness of Victorian Protestantism towards the spirit of Catholic missionary expansion, which was already gathering a force of which *The Times* could have no understanding. " Whatever is not her own," *The Times* declared, " she absolutely ignores. The Pope employs the same style in constituting an Archbishop of Westminster as in appointing a prelate of some petty town of Latium. The existence of the Crown, of the prelates, of the mighty people of England, he cannot acknowledge ; all he sees is the land, a few Roman Catholics scattered up and down it, and those bishops among whom he divides it ; the rest to him is nothing."

But while this bombastic insolence was being printed in *The Times*, forces were already coming into immediate play which were to have extraordinary repercussions. There were liberty-loving Englishmen who revolted passionately against these tirades inspired by bigotry towards Rome, and against the practical consequences that they produced. Lord John Russell become the recipient of various addresses, which were far from sympathising with his comfortable reliance upon the tradition of Protestant prejudice towards Rome. Mr. Roebuck addressed a long letter of protest to him, in the name of the great Liberal principles which had supported Catholic emancipation in the past, and began by stating bluntly that he believed " that great principles are in danger and that to you is attributable

the imminent risk to which they are exposed." The "great principles thus imperilled," he went on, "are those which your party and the great leaders of your party have for above half a century resolutely supported, and to which the chiefs of every party have, during the present century, rendered singular and honourable homage." He pointed out that in the long effort towards establishing religious toleration the Whigs had in the past been able to count upon the support of various sects which had suffered from civil disabilities. Yet now, "when by the united and continuous labours of our greatest statesmen the law had become just, and peace and goodwill were about to be established, you, my lord, took advantage of your great position to rouse up the spirit of strife and hate among us, to quicken into active life the demon of persecution, and to rend asunder a great empire which, but for your fatal interference, would soon have become firmly united, peaceful and prosperous. A melancholy distinction this, my lord, for one who all his life has styled himself the friend of religious as well as civil freedom."

These were strong words from an old ally in politics who had no natural sympathies with Romanism. But Lord John Russell had no conception of the repercussions which his attack upon Wiseman was yet to cause among the High Church party, whom he had taken the opportunity to attack at the same time. Some inkling of it came to him in a singularly vigorous protest from the rector of St. Barnabas, who had the special right of appealing to him as one of his chief parishioners. "On Sunday, 10th November," wrote Mr. Bennett, "a tumultuous crowd" had assembled around his church, and "a band of persons who had congregated together, no doubt for this purpose, within

the very church walls, was guilty of a violent outrage against all decency, in uttering hisses and exclaiming 'No mummery!' 'No Popery!' and other similar cries, alarming the decent worshippers who are in the habit of frequenting our church." The churchwarden had found it necessary to close the church for the evening service. The police commissioners, in view of such continued outrages, had seen the necessity of guarding the church and the rectory by night and day. But even so, on the following Sunday " a very large mob of most tumultuous and disorderly persons had collected together a second time all round the church, and this with a much greater demonstration of violence than on the preceding Sunday." A hundred constables had been needed to prevent actual violence from occurring, and in spite of their presence, " much violence was committed and a leader of the rioters taken into custody." In the afternoon they had assembled again and battered on the church doors. And on the following Sunday similar scenes had occurred again ; and the rector had been interrupted during his sermon. That these disorders should continue in the parish where the Prime Minister himself resided, complained Mr. Bennett, was serious enough ; but it was the Prime Minister's own letter, distributed in handbills all round the church, that had caused all the trouble. " I pray God, my lord," he concluded, " that you may be spared from being the instrument under God's hand for the destruction of the Church of England."

It was while these scenes were being enacted, and when Lord John Russell had instigated the Protestant outcry against the Puseyites as well as against the Catholic hierarchy, that Archdeacon Manning, of Chichester—who had become the chief tower of strength to the High Church party after Newman's

departure from Oxford—was gradually and inevitably feeling his own way towards the surrender to Rome against which he had fought so long. At Chichester, as elsewhere, the clergy were swept into the storm of agitation against the "Papal aggression," and on 22nd November they approached Manning as their archdeacon with a request to convene them so that they might formulate a united protest. Their invitation was the blow which finally drove Manning out of the Church of England. He refused point-blank to do as they required. "I have, therefore, seen the bishop," he wrote to Dodsworth, "and offered to resign my office, or to convene and express my dissent and resignation. Events have greatly brought this to its issue in the way I waited for. I wish to play it out as on a field until the last move of duty is done. Then I shall lay down my weapons." Wiseman's pastoral, and its consequences, had, unknown to him, provided the last impetus which was still needed to overthrow the increasingly unstable equilibrium of the great Anglican divine who within fourteen years was to become his own successor as the second Archbishop of Westminster.

Manning's offer of resignation had developed within a few days into a fixed resolve. On 27th November he preached to his congregation for the last time, and on 3rd December he left his dearly-loved church at Lavington. In London he discarded his clerical clothes and assumed layman's dress—the same symptom of imminent surrender which had been shown by Newman when his brethren at Littlemore received their first clear indication of his coming submission, through his appearing at dinner in grey trousers. The "Papal aggression" and the attacks upon the Puseyites occupied all attention in London, and on 6th December

Manning wrote a memorable letter to his most intimate friend, Gladstone, which placed on record his own view of the future relations of Church and State in England. "Let me say what I believe," he wrote. "Parties will from this time form round two centres; the one will be the Protestantism of England protecting or trying to protect itself by legislation; the other, political Government, maintaining a powerful neutrality and arbitration among all religious communities. If you retain your seat for Oxford and accept the leadership, which is approaching you through the Conservative parties, you must take the former centre as your starting-point. Which God forbid! If you take the latter centre, you know the cost. But I believe it is the path of truth, peace and Christian civilisation to this great Empire."

Manning's increasing ascendancy in the Church of England was a phenomenon entirely apart from the Oxford Movement. His father had been a Governor of the Bank of England, and he himself, after becoming captain of the cricket eleven at Harrow and President of the Union Society at Oxford—where his intimate friendship with Gladstone began—had suddenly decided to enter the Anglican ministry. With drastic self-discipline he had accepted a curacy in the obscure Sussex village of Lavington. It was there he married the daughter of his rector, whose death left a vacancy to which he succeeded; and in four years of devotedly happy married life Manning had established an extraordinary reputation as an exemplary and intensely ascetic vicar. His wife died of consumption in 1837, and in the December of the following year he went on a first visit to Rome. It was there he met Wiseman for the first time, during the last year of his Rectorship of the English College. Gladstone arrived in Rome when

he was there, and they had discussed together what appeared to them both as the fundamental insincerity of the religious centre of Catholicism, which, nevertheless, impressed them as profoundly as it had impressed Macaulay during his visit just before they came. "Really pious people," Manning wrote after his return to England, "may be converted to Rome without perceptibly, perhaps actually, losing anything of their personal piety. The occasional conversion of a serious person hides the taint of the system." His own acquaintance with converts to Romanism was still astonishingly small. "I have known four people tampered with by Romanists," he wrote in March 1840, "(1) Ignorant disputatious. (2) Devout instructed. (3) Nervous uninstructed. (4) Rather conceited." With the Oxford Movement, except through his intimacy with Gladstone, he had had no contact whatever. As an undergraduate at Oxford, he had only once heard Newman preach, and his own interests at the time were chiefly absorbed in the Union Society's debates. But at Lavington his austere and missionary temperament led him to introduce practices which the Puseyites were already adopting. He introduced the hearing of confessions, to the horror of many of his people, and he encouraged the formation of Anglican sisterhoods. Nevertheless, these special enthusiasms, and even a discreet tendency towards ritualism, were generally accepted as concessions towards that "comprehensive" spirit which the Oxford Movement had made inevitable among broadminded Anglicans.

On the main issue, of disapproval of Rome and its superstitions, Manning was regarded as an absolutely sound and supremely able guide. The Low Church bishop, Shuttleworth, was so much impressed by him that he appointed him in 1841 Archdeacon of Chichester.

In his constant correspondence with Gladstone, while he discussed again and again his own " desire to win the wills of men to Catholicism," he meant nothing else than the Church of England, which he regarded as the future agent of the reunion of Christendom. Gradually, however, and in decisive stages—which he noted himself afterwards in the sequence : " My admission to Lavington, 1833. My bereavement, 1837. The hearing of confessions, 1844. The growing up of hope, 1845. My illness, 1847. These are, I think, the chief agents under God in my conversion"—Manning was drifting always further in the same tendency towards Rome, which had prevailed over so many other reluctant intellects in the Church of England. Newman's final surrender in 1845 shook the whole Anglican communion ; and Manning, who had by then established fairly close relations with him, shared for a time in the general shock. Two years before, he had already been told, as plainly as Newman yet knew how, what must be expected as the final issue. Manning had written to him at once after his sudden resignation of St. Mary's at Oxford, protesting his " real participation in all that distresses you." Their correspondence was abruptly broken by Newman's overwhelming phrase : " I think the Church of Rome the Catholic Church, and ours not a part of the Catholic Church, because not in communion with Rome." It took two years more of prayerful introspection before Newman took the final plunge. But though Manning and Gladstone, watching events from day to day in closest intimacy, were both staggered by the news, Manning breathed freely again as an unrepentant stalwart of official Anglicanism when he had read through, and with much effort digested, Newman's great work on the Development of Christian Doctrine. He could write triumphantly in December

1845, " The great debate is where it was, with this gain. Even Newman has not moved its limits in advance against us."

Yet, within six months later, the ferment had already worked so far in his mind that he was writing : " Tho' not, therefore, Roman, I cease to be Anglican." A host of difficulties had overwhelmed him in his Anglican pilgrimage. He had organised and initiated all manner of new ventures for the revival of the true Christian spirit within the Church of England ; founded a seminary, and a House of Mercy, and even succeeded in securing the appointment of bishops for the Colonies. " One-seventh of the globe and ten bishoprics," he had exclaimed, aghast in contemplation of all that the Church of England had to uphold. " We must answer for the heathenism of India, for the destitution of Canada, for the degradation of the West Indian slaves, for the Tophet we have made in Australia. We are now on our trial as Tyre." But always the dead hand of the Church Establishment fell between his crusading energy and the fulfilment of his dreams. " The English Church," he had written to Gladstone in 1841, " is Catholic in dogma and in polity. But the subjective, the internal, ascetic, contemplative, devotional, moral, penitential elements are wasted down to a meagreness which is nigh unto death." Five years later, when the " intellectuals " of the Oxford Movement were succumbing one after another to the necessity of a surrender to Rome, even before Newman, their leader, had yet made up his mind, Manning was already feeling that the ground had slipped from under his feet. His own intellectual ascendancy was already so far established that when Newman deserted to Rome, the leadership of the High Church party lay between Pusey and himself. But Pusey, although his anti-

Roman feelings had been intensified by Newman's surrender, was temperamentally incapable of inspiring any forward movement. On all sides he saw reasons for despair, and his pronouncements were a continual lamentation upon the decline of real religion in the Church of England. It was no wonder that devout Churchmen turned to Manning, with his indomitable energy and zeal, his deep learning and his consummate powers as a controversialist. But Manning, though they knew it not, was already a broken reed.

By July 1846 he was already writing in his diary, " Right or wrong, this family of doctrines is preserved by Rome and lost or rejected by Protestantism. Something keeps rising and saying, 'You will end in the Roman Church.' I believe the Bishop of Rome to be Primate and, by devolution, Chief. I would willingly yield in silence to all acts of Councils." A week later he records " the meshes seem closing round me. I feel less able to say that Rome is wrong." And three weeks later again : " Now I see that St. Peter has a Primacy among the Apostles. That the Church of Rome inherits what St. Peter had among Apostles. That the Church of Rome is therefore heir of infallibility." Such was his state of mind when, early in 1847, sickness overtook him and laid him low. For six months he was incapacitated, and in June his doctors ordered him abroad. He travelled to Malines, then back to England ; then out again to Rome, by way of Paris, Avignon and Nice. In Rome, Newman met him in the street and did not recognise him—he looked so ill. By the end of the year he was home again in England, stronger and more comforted in mind, but very definitely more inclined towards admiration of all things Roman. His strong democratic sympathies had been won by the discovery of how far Roman Catholicism

was on the side "of the progress and popular party—indeed, in many ways at the head of it." "It falls in with an old belief of mine," he had written to Gladstone, "in which I think you share. I mean that the Church of the last ages will be as the Church of the first, isolated and separate from the civil powers of the world." But, though this was a further reason for estrangement from the Established Church, Manning was still convinced, in spite of his previous misgivings, that the English Church (distinct from the Establishment) was safely in communion with the Church Catholic and Apostolic. Throughout 1848 and 1849 he continued, less hectically, in his ministrations. He was brought more frequently in contact with individuals who had gone over to Rome; and, instead of striving fiercely, as of old, to win them back, he now adopted a gentler attitude.

The last phase came with the crisis over the Gorham judgment. The Bishop of Exeter—the only member of the bench whom Manning really admired—had refused to allow the appointment of Mr. Gorham to a living in his diocese, on the ground that he did not regard baptism as an article of faith. Gorham appealed to the Privy Council, who overruled the bishop and insisted upon Gorham being instituted. No more direct or overwhelming blow could have been delivered to those who had been maintaining the essential continuity and unity of Anglican doctrine. A protest to the Privy Council was immediately drawn up by the leading High Churchmen at Mr. Hope-Scott's house; but on 6th August 1850 Gorham was duly invested with charge of the parish of Bramford Speke. No argument or eloquence could explain away what had been done in open defiance of the bishop by an authority greater than his own. Manning threw all his energies into a cam-

paign to arouse theological opinion. The whole question of where the sovereign authority of the Church of England resided had been raised in the most open way possible. Gladstone himself had written before the matter was settled, " If Mr. Gorham be carried through, and that upon the merits, I say not only is there no doctrine of baptismal regeneration in the Church of England as State-interpreted, but there is no doctrine at all ! " But when the time came Gladstone would not even join with Manning in signing Hope-Scott's protest to the Privy Council.

The Gorham judgment had shaken the whole foundations of Manning's position as an Anglican. Events were moving swiftly ; and while the Church of England was confronted with the impotence of a bishop to prevent the appointment to a vicarage of a man who denied belief even in baptism, the Holy See was already preparing its announcement of a restoration of the hierarchy in England. One after another of the High Churchmen found it impossible to retain their allegiance to the Church of England after the Gorham case, and Manning himself was torn in mind as to whether he also could remain. The only logical alternative seemed to be an unconditional submission to Rome. By June he had already written in confidence to Gladstone, " I dare not say that my conscience will not submit itself to the Church which has its circuits throughout the world and its centre, by accident, in Rome." His closest friends wrote to him in agony at their own doubts and fears. The " challenge which comes over the water," as Manning said of the new hierarchy in a letter to Gladstone, added immeasurably to their confusion and their grief ; and by November, Lord John Russell's incitement to a new No Popery agitation came as the final blow which compelled even Manning himself to resign.

As yet he had done no more than retire from his ministry and assume plain clothes. But by the New Year his friend Dodsworth, as well as many others, had already submitted to Rome. There was panic among his own former supporters. Bishops besought him to stand firm and not to desert his post. "Why, dear brother, are you not in your parishes and among your flocks," the Bishop of Newfoundland remonstrated—"those happy parishes, those beautiful flocks?" From the Bishop of Exeter, stricken by the enforced admission of Mr. Gorham into his diocese, came the pitiful appeal: "Your resignation makes me more wretched than any of the actual abandonments. I am deeply, painfully sensible of all the difficulties which beset my own path. I dare not be a coward, but I fear doing harm by following the rash counsels of my own mind. You would be of inestimable use, comfort, support to me." But Manning's restless mind was already racing towards its new and permanent allegiance. The day came when he spoke the fateful words to Gladstone in the Chapel of Buckingham Palace Road: "I can no longer take the communion in the Church of England"; and with the exhortation "Come!" he left his most intimate friend, who said afterwards that he felt as though Manning "had murdered his mother." Hope-Scott also had decided that only one path lay ahead. He and Manning went together to visit Wiseman, and on Passion Sunday they were both received into the Church at Farm Street by the Jesuit, Fr. Brownbill.

Wiseman's joy at the reception of this new giant from the Church of England was as great as the delirious enthusiasm with which he had welcomed Newman. To the consternation of the older Catholics, and even of some of the bishops, he decided to admit Manning to the

Cardinal Manning

priesthood almost immediately. On 13th April he gave confirmation to him and Hope-Scott and Baddeley. Placed under the direction of Father Faber, Manning was allowed to receive minor Orders almost at once, and he officiated as sub-deacon and deacon at the oratory. Within ten weeks he had been ordained a priest, and said his first Mass at Farm Street, where "Dicky Doyle" —who had resigned from *Punch* in protest against its attacks upon Catholicism after the hierarchy was established—attended to immortalise the ceremony by a delicately sensitive drawing of Manning, assisted by the French Jesuit, Fr. Ravignan. The *Tablet* was scandalised by this reckless advancement of the archdeacon to the priesthood, and announced that he was now going to Rome "for the purpose of commencing his ecclesiastical studies."

CHAPTER VII

THE IRISH IMMIGRANTS

WHILE the converts and the old Catholics were already uncomfortably watching each other, with distrust and fear of innovation on the one side and impatience with traditional conservatism and timidity on the other, a new factor quite suddenly entered into the Church in England, which before long was to transform the character of the Catholic population and to make Catholicism in England for several generations almost an Irish Church, even though it continued to be directed by English rulers who were very naturally uncomfortable at the deep differences that existed between themselves and the great majority of their flocks. There had been a continuous Irish immigration into England for about a century, since the half-starved labourers from the west of Ireland had first begun to immigrate for the harvest seasons to earn whatever they could on the English farms. At a later period a considerable number of these migratory labourers were attracted to permanent work in the new industrial centres; and in Lancashire especially, around the port of Liverpool, the Irish Catholic population had become fairly large. But the events of 1845 produced an incursion of Irish immigrants which had no parallel hitherto. The complete failure of the potato crop in Ireland spread famine on such an appalling scale that a vast exodus of starving refugees began. Liverpool became the centre upon which a double stream of Catholic refugees converged—

some seeking work desperately in England; others flocking to Liverpool as the port of departure for their permanent exile to the United States.

So the year 1845 had brought about two simultaneous convulsions which produced incalculable changes in the position of the Church. The same year which saw the conversion of Newman and his friends at Littlemore was the first of the three successive years of frightful famine in Ireland, which was to cause nearly a million deaths in Ireland from starvation and famine fever, and to loose a flood of Irish Catholic refugees into the north of England, which before long had made the Catholic population even of Lancashire—where by far the largest concentration of English Catholics had survived—predominantly Irish. The consequence of these three years of Irish immigration upon social and religious life in England have never yet been fully described; and to convey any adequate picture of them would require a very large and elaborate volume. So far as Catholicism was concerned, their numbers were within a few years so large that the problem of expansion henceforward consisted in providing new churches for a Catholic population which had already arrived from outside. But although the Catholic population was already there—whereas Wiseman and his supporters had been anticipating a mission of conversion among the English people which must take years to accomplish—they were a population of utterly destitute Irish families, who in many cases scarcely spoke the English language, and who were utterly unused to the conditions of town life. For the old Catholics of Lancashire, their arrival brought before long an enormous problem. The small number of priests, who already had to tend to many scattered missions, now had to follow up these settlements of Irish refugees, who were still too

hopelessly destitute, and too lifeless through long months of starvation, to attempt any provision of churches for themselves. For years afterwards, their condition remained abjectly poor, and even the Irish priests who were brought over to assist in forming new missions among them were appalled at the squalor in which they lived.

In Liverpool itself, where the immigration was mainly concentrated, there were only twenty priests available for all the sudden calls now made upon them ; and the great majority of them were Englishmen. But when, in the third year of the Irish famine, plague and cholera raged through Ireland, the refugees brought the " famine fever " with them into the English cities of the north, and literally hundreds of priests lost their lives in ministering in England to the sick and the dying. Eighteen of the twenty priests in Liverpool were stricken with the fever, and ten died of it. But their places were taken immediately by others ; and in the generation of Catholic priests who survived, the memory of their devoted ministrations during the pestilence was a bond of union with their people which counted for immeasurably much. Among the young priests who lived through those years in Liverpool was the future Bishop Bernard O'Reilly ; and among those who died was one of the English bishops—Dr. Riddell, who had succeeded Dr. Mostyn as Vicar-Apostolic of the Northern District in August 1847, and who contracted famine fever while tending the Irish Catholics in Newcastle a few months later.

The late Bishop Ward, who wrote history with an admirable concern for facts, which he never allowed his personal views or preferences to distort, declares in a chapter of his *Sequel to Catholic Emancipation* that this immigration of the Irish refugees from the famine

" affected the future of Catholicism in this country more even than the Oxford Movement, for it was the influx of Irish in 1846 and the following years which made our congregations what they are, and led to the multiplication of missions." Up to that time, he points out, " the English Catholics relied for the building of their churches almost solely on the donations of the few hereditary Catholics and others of the upper classes ; after the great Irish immigration it became possible to build from the pennies of the poor. Many missions owe their very existence, including serviceable churches and schools, to the large Irish congregations. If any proof be wanted of the importance of the immigration, it is only necessary to cast our eyes on those parts of England, as, for example, East Anglia, whither the Irish hardly penetrated, and to see the desolate state of those counties so far as the Catholic religion is concerned. Even in Lancashire and the northern counties generally, where the number of English Catholics was far greater than in other parts of the country, the congregations were largely increased and many missions established, due in many cases in great measure to the influx of Irish immigrants."

It was remarkable, indeed, that the Italian Passionist, Father Dominic Barberi, who received Newman into the Church and who was so directly instrumental in the reception of many of the convert Anglican clergymen, was also one of the chief missioners among the Irish immigrants in the very few years during which he was able to take part in that evangelisation of England which had been the dream of his life in Rome. Within two years of his having accepted Newman's submission, he also was to feel the impact of the Irish immigration into the Potteries, and to recognise, in the sufferings of that homeless starving stream of immigrants, the hope of

a new Catholic revival along lines that no one had foreseen. They arrived in Stone and Aston, as elsewhere, penniless, half-starved and half clad, and without any means of getting food. Every room in every squalid house was crammed with men, women and children, who were reduced to extreme physical weakness by long months of privation and agony in Ireland, and the inevitable outbreaks of cholera soon occurred. The Passionist community around Father Dominic were soon besieged with destitute immigrants, who turned to the Catholic priests for refuge and shelter and consolation. They gathered hopelessly around the gates of Father Dominic's community, imploring that, even if he could give them no alms, they might at least receive his ministrations before they died of plague. Father Dominic himself had lived through a similar outbreak of pestilence at Ceprano as a young priest, and he now threw himself recklessly into the work of tending the sick. Two of his comrades, Father Gaudentius and Father Vincent, collapsed almost at once, and Father Dominic and Father Spencer had to face the desperate situation as best they could. Before long, Father Spencer also was stricken down, and his life hung by a thread for a few days. He received the last sacraments, and the Passionist community undertook a novena for his recovery. He revived almost miraculously when the doctors had despaired of his life.

Through all this agony Father Dominic was still so lavish in his charity that he felt the call of the starving multitudes in Ireland itself to be a still greater need. In a letter to the *Tablet* in January 1847, he wrote an urgent appeal for the starving Catholics of County Kerry, declaring that the circumstances were such that even the sale of sacred vessels was legitimate according to the teaching of the Church. He had himself sanc-

tioned the sale of a small silver chalice which had been given to him on his journey through France. Its value was four pounds, but he had no hope of finding a purchaser, since Father Richmond had been unable to sell a much more valuable monstrance for similar purposes. But the problem had been solved by four priests of his own house, who had " set aside a pound each by denying themselves some things which our holy rule allows them, and so I have obtained the sum of four pounds, which is, I have been told, the full value of the chalice. This sum I take the liberty of forwarding to you in addition to the sum sent last week." The *Tablet*, at this time under the editorship of Frederick Lucas, was rousing public opinion passionately against the horrors of the famine in Ireland, and Lucas had entered upon his violent political campaign against the Irish landlords, who, he said, " by their inordinate selfishness, greediness, obstinacy, stupidity and hard-heartedness have created the present awful famine "—through which they had " doomed to death by slow murder " the tenant class.

The English bishops had all issued pastoral letters in the spring which appealed for alms in relief of the Irish famine, and in many churches collections were frequently made. Bishop Ward recalls that in London alone the few existing churches had produced over £1350 on one Sunday. But a development occurred which was to have a profound effect for years to come upon the relations between the English Catholic aristocracy and the Irish poor, who were now swarming into England. In Ireland the Government was everywhere denounced as being responsible for having allowed the famine to take place, and for having failed to take any adequate measures to meet it. In England the feeling was quite opposite. English Catholics as well as

Protestants considered only that unprecedented sums had been voted by the Government, and that English generosity had privately subscribed enormous sums for a people who, as they saw it, had no particular claim upon them. The Chancellor of the Exchequer announced, in 1847, when the famine was already entering upon its third and most disastrous year, that the total expenditure upon the famine would exceed ten million pounds. But his proposals were largely directed towards compensating the Irish landlords for their inability to collect rents while the people were starving; and the suggestion that the Government thought more of the landlords than of the starving multitudes had created fierce resentment in Ireland. Lucas, in the *Tablet*, fulminated furiously against the landlords, and pointed to the many ruthless evictions which had been enforced for failure to pay rents. Agrarian outrages had been inevitable in such circumstances. The marvel was that they were not much more numerous, when the whole peasantry were driven to mad despair by months of aching hunger and by the ravages of pestilence. But the English Catholic aristocracy, being landlords themselves, were naturally inclined to sympathise with the embarrassments of the landlords in Ireland, and they were scandalised by the occasional murders and agrarian outrages which were reported in the Press. Their feelings found expression in a series of public letters written by two of the English Catholic peers, which complained directly to several members of the Irish hierarchy that the Irish clergy had not been sufficiently warned against condoning murder.

It is impossible to understand fully the subsequent antipathy which persisted between the Irish Catholics and certain members of the English aristocracy without considering these letters from Lord Arundel and Lord

Shrewsbury.[1] In the *Tablet* for 25th December 1847, Lord Arundel addressed himself personally to Archbishop MacHale. After saying that he could make excuses for crimes committed by a starving population, he declared himself to be "completely overpowered and deprived of all defence by the conduct of some members of the priesthood." "Denunciations from the altar," he protested, "followed by the speedy death of the denounced, and public speeches of the most dangerous tendency to an inflammatory people, are the melancholy accusations to which I am unable to reply. If I assert the small number of the clergy who have recourse to such means of obtaining or retaining influence I am immediately asked—where then is the boasted discipline of the Catholic Church? How is it that men so imprudent, if not wicked, are not suspended from their spiritual functions?"

A challenge of this kind, coming from the Duke of Norfolk's son at the height of the famine—when the Catholic peasantry were dying like flies in Ireland, and the clergy were straining every nerve to minister to them and to raise funds by every conceivable means to keep them alive—was not likely to meet with sympathy from any bishop in the west of Ireland, and least of all from so strenuous a fighter as Archbishop MacHale. He replied to Lord Arundel's letter personally, and then followed it up with a long public letter addressed to Lord John Russell as Prime Minister. "To the Catholic clergy of Ireland, who have been mainly instrumental in preserving the public peace and keeping the frame of society, through three successive seasons of famine as afflicting as ever zeal and piety were tried in," wrote Dr. MacHale, "it must be a consoling requital to be held

[1] They are reproduced at considerable length in Bishop Ward's *Sequel to Catholic Emancipation*.

up in the high places as the preachers of sedition and founders of crime. It is in vain that they have been found ' in much patience and tribulation, in necessities, in distresses, ministering to the wants of the stricken ' people ' in season and out of season,' consoling the sick, soothing the agonies of the dying, attending as deacons to their temporal wants, in bearing the chief share in the daily ministrations, and on Sundays offering up the sacrifice of peace and propitiation to an offended God, inculcating to the different classes of society their respective duties of justice and of subordination, of mercy, and of patience, thus striving to heal the wounds which the world and its passions were inflicting during the past week, and raising the hearts and the hopes of their downcast flocks by the consoling promises that the sufferings of the present world were not to be compared with the glory of that to come which shall be revealed unto us—such sacred duties punctually, perseveringly and disinterestedly discharged should, one would imagine, if not entitle them to the gratitude of those who are entrusted with the well-being of society, at least have shielded them against their censure. Yet not only have these been the ordinary occupations of the clergy of Ireland during the past famine, now set in afresh, but they have in several instances, with the piety of another Tobias, carried the victims of pestilence, which others shunned from the dread of contagion, and deposited them in their graves."

Dr. MacHale's letter is much too long to quote in detail. It proceeded to an indignant repudiation of the charges levelled against the Irish clergy, of whom, as Dr. MacHale pointed out, many of the most distinguished had died during the famine, in their unceasing and heroic exertions among their starving, plague-stricken people. He challenged the authors of

these slanders to produce any single instance by name, so that the proper investigations might be undertaken and punishment be inflicted if it were needed. For himself, he expressed the conviction which burned deep into the minds of the Irish Catholics at the time—alike among those who remained in Ireland and those who emigrated either to America or to Great Britain—that "these prolific calumnies are propagated for the purpose of diverting public sympathy from the suffering people of Ireland, and of hiding the responsibility of ministers to relieve them. Slanders against the clergy," he protested, "will not arrest the progress of the famine. Indifference to the sufferings of the people is not calculated to arrest the progress of the famine. In this diocese alone there were, before they were thinned by famine, near four hundred thousand souls. They have been, and are still, thank God! and I trust the Almighty will give them the grace of fortitude and piety to continue so, guiltless of any of these agrarian, sanguinary crimes which are now said to be inherent in the inhabitants of Ireland. They are yet steeped in misery. . . . Is not this patience, this freedom from crime, amidst misery so intense and widespread, almost miraculous? Yes, it equals in many instances the long-sustained tortures of the martyrs. Are such a people, so meek, so patient, so heroic in their endurance, to be branded as a nation, or a portion of a nation, of assassins, and their clergy, who taught them those lessons of surpassing patience, to be stigmatised as instigators to crime?" In a second letter to the Prime Minister a few weeks later, Dr. MacHale returned to the charge more vigorously, and, after speaking of the spectacle of "hundreds of clergymen laying down their lives as holocausts for their flocks," he asserted boldly that "the cruelties committed in Ireland on the starving people are scarcely equalled

under the sun. Hence the hideous and atrocious deeds of retaliation which we all deplore and execrate, and against which the warning voice of the clergy has been raised with zealous energy."

The facts of the Irish famine have long passed into history. The atrocious system of land tenure, which left the peasantry at the mercy of pitiless agents of absentee landlords, has since been transformed and abolished by a succession of legislative enactments. It is difficult now to recall with any sympathy the attitude of the English Catholic peers who undertook to support by their personal statements the accusations against the Irish clergy which were being levelled at the time. The pretext upon which their intervention was based, in addressing the Irish bishops, was usually that the agrarian crimes in Ireland were a stumbling-block to Anglicans who had otherwise been attracted to the Catholic system. They were incapable of appreciating either the full horror of the famine, which had cost hundreds of thousands of lives and had spread utter destitution and despair among almost the whole Irish Catholic population, or of appreciating the intimate devotion of the Irish Catholics to their clergy, which became more intense during the famine than even during the long years of persecution under the penal laws. Those who attacked the Irish clergy at such a time were bound to incur an enmity which would endure for generations while the memory of the Irish famine lasted. But when the attacks emanated from the leaders of the Catholic aristocracy in England, the bitterness of resentment in Ireland was infinitely more intense. Lord Arundel had seen fit to lecture the Archbishop of Tuam at a time when his clergy were fighting day and night, through the endless months of a three years' famine, to sustain the spirit of the people and to keep them from

the excesses born of despair. And now, in spite of Dr. MacHale's personal appeals to the Prime Minister, another English Catholic peer, Lord Shrewsbury, intervened with a series of letters in the *Morning Chronicle* that attempted to substantiate the criticisms which Lord Arundel had insinuated.

Lord Shrewsbury had obtained authentic details concerning the murder of Major Mahon in the County Roscommon, and he wrote to the Bishop of Elphin to demand an immediate investigation into the story that one of the priests of the diocese had denounced Major Mahon from the altar as an oppressor of the starving poor. The Bishop of Elphin made no reply, and Lord Shrewsbury thereupon wrote a long letter to Archbishop MacHale, remonstrating against his own letters to the Prime Minister, which he declared to be " unjustly accusatory of the Government, and, unhappily, exculpatory of those who are the enemies of the Government, imputing blame when praise was due and, yet stranger still, apologetic for crime." " My lord," he wrote with astounding effontery to the archbishop, " the public at large look to the prelates of the disturbed districts to inform them whether in their diocese these duties (of the clergy) have been punctually and properly performed, and Englishmen must be excused for doubting it amidst scenes which stand forth so prominently to contradict it." Protesting especially against the archbishop's denunciation of the Prime Minister and his Government, Lord Shrewsbury claimed that an effort had been made " such as no nation has perhaps ever made, and made at his urgent solicitation to relieve the distress of another." He complained bitterly that sufficient gratitude had not been paid to the Government or to the people of England " for the very generous sacrifices which in their charity, as in their duty, they were

pleased to make last year in favour of their suffering brethren in Ireland, but which this year have been arrested by the scantiness of their thanks, the bitterness of her reproaches, the crimes of too many of her people, the unstrained violence of some few of her pastors, the apathy of still fewer, as we hope, of her prelates. When all were thus scandalised and astounded, disgusted and dismayed, can we wonder that the sources of charity were dried up ? "

It is not wonderful, comments Bishop Ward, that " the correspondence produced a very painful feeling in Ireland and that Lord Shrewsbury was ever afterwards regarded as the enemy of Irish Catholics." The incident was, in fact, the beginning of that long tradition of intense distrust and antipathy between the English and the Irish Catholics, which was to be accentuated during the land agitation of the 'eighties, and to revive during the Home Rule agitation before the War, and again in the years before the establishment of the Irish Free State. But the years brought vast changes in the Catholic body in Great Britain, as the Irish immigration continued and the descendants of the refugees from the famine increased and multiplied. Even in these famine years, there were many cases of a gradual union of their forces in spite of all racial divisions. The starving immigrants, to many of whom Father Dominic ministered in the Potteries, with Lord Spencer's convert son as his principal assistant, swarmed into all the growing industrial centres of the north ; and when they brought the pestilence of famine with them from Ireland, the clergy in England as in Ireland laboured heroically among them. Bishop Ward sums up the subsequent situation admirably when he says " the time came when the disease had run its course and ceased. In Ireland the famine was over, but those who had crossed

the St. George's Channel had obtained permanent work in England, and the majority did not return. They remained and still remain amongst us, to give numbers and importance to our Catholic congregations, and their presence has contributed more than any other cause to the progress of Catholicism in this country."

To describe the growth of churches among these congregations of destitute Irish Catholics would be impossible within the very limited scope of the present book. The story was more or less the same in almost every centre. A room in a squalid district, most frequently over a stable or even a cow-shed, was the usual beginning of the parish churches which contain such large congregations in all the cities to-day. Barns and stables in a short while became too small to contain the number of Irish Catholics who gathered always around the priest as their one sure guide and friend—in a strange country which at least provided escape from famine, but where the new factories and mines, not yet subject to any real restraint by factory laws, exacted the last ounce of human energy in unconscionably long working hours, in return for the barest minimum of wages. In the ports, where the Irish exiles naturally congregated most thickly, labour was usually unskilled and quite unorganised, and the continual influx of Irish Catholics kept the supply of casual labourers far in excess of the demand. Untrained to any trade—for they came from the miserable farms of the west of Ireland, which they dared not even improve for fear the rents would be raised beyond what they could hope to pay—the Irish labourers soon constituted the mass of the worst paid and the least secure working population everywhere. Under such conditions, it was years before they even made any real effort to improve their standard of living ; and the children in the first

generation grew up in conditions of awful squalor and poverty.

Some idea of their general conditions may be gathered from the description of an Irish Vincentian priest who came to open a new parish in Sheffield in 1853. There, the Irish immigration had not been so overwhelming, and the great local industries were exceedingly prosperous; so that conditions were much more promising than in the ports, where the Irish labourers seldom obtained more than casual employment. A house had been provided by the more prosperous Catholics of the town to serve as a chapel and a school, until a church could be built. The Irish Vincentians had agreed to supply priests to organise the mission. "The morning was cold," Father Burke wrote afterwards in describing the scene when he first said Mass in the house; "the room was scarcely half filled by a badly-dressed, poor, perished-looking congregation. This beginning was not very encouraging. At that time the trade of Sheffield was most prosperous, and the abundance of all material things, money included, was literally teeming and flowing over. Yet our poor people, through neglect, disorderly habits, and most of all through drink, were in a state of the deepest poverty and degradation. However, the gathering at the eleven o'clock Mass, and in the evening, was even large, and the mission had 'got a fair start.' I shall never forget the opening of the Sunday School, or catechism, in the afternoon of that day. The few children who assembled in the lower schoolroom were like wild Indians; they seemed never to have seen a priest before; and their wild disregard of order or of our authority almost disheartened me."

Such were the materials from which the clergy, recruited in always increasing numbers from the Irish seminaries, had to create the parishes which within

twenty or thirty years were to grow up round large churches, many of which had been built by the volunteer labour of the Irish working men themselves. It was not only " the pennies of the poor," but the labour of the poor, given without expectation or promise of reward, that built so many of the parish churches which all over England to-day are the centres of the Catholic revival. And the same process continues still. Hundreds of priests can still look back upon churches which, during their own ministrations, were built or decorated for them, in all parts of England, by the freely given labour of their parishoners. But other factors also contributed to the formation of new parishes. The story of the Sheffield parish which has been quoted was only typical of hundreds of other parishes in the combination of forces that brought it to life. A convert Methodist was the first to receive Holy Communion in the private room that served in the beginning as a chapel. And when Mass was celebrated daily afterwards, two ladies—one a Pole and the other an English Catholic—were the only attendants, in all weathers, for some time. But their example gradually induced others to come also, until the first priest of the parish could describe, years afterwards, how " from the sadness of seeing only one or two old women coming to daily Mass in the upper school, we had lived to experience David's joy in seeing the faithful people coming in crowds to the holy place on ordinary days, but most remarkable whenever any festival, even a minor one, of the Blessed Virgin comes round." The " faithful people " were in the vast majority Irish Catholics who had been forced to escape from Ireland. But while the priests who undertook the missions, from which parishes grew amongst them, were, like themselves, chiefly Irish Catholics, the funds which enabled the buildings to be constructed were in many

cases subscribed to very substantially by English Catholics, or by foreigners who had settled in England or married Englishmen. And the Earl of Arundel, whose unfortunate letters to Archbishop MacHale during the famine years had caused so deep distrust between the English and the Irish Catholics, was one of the most generous subscribers to a great number of new churches which were built primarily for the benefit of the Irish immigrants in various places, of which Sheffield was one.

CHAPTER VIII

THE ACHILLI TRIAL

WISEMAN'S unfailing and unrestrained enthusiasm in welcoming converts from the Church of England had always been a cause of uneasiness to the old Catholics. They had distrusted even Newman's belated secession to Rome. The ecstatic welcome given by Cardinal Wiseman to Archdeacon Manning, who had been since Newman's conversion the chief protagonist of the High Churchmen in their controversies with Catholic doctrine, seemed to them almost indecent. His ordination within ten weeks of his changing over to the Roman side was regarded as something more serious than an indiscretion. The *Tablet*, as the organ of the old Catholics, let its feelings be known quite plainly. Even Mgr. Talbot, in Rome, himself a convert, was appalled at the rapidity with which Wiseman had hastened Manning's admission to the priesthood. "Can it be true that you are going to ordain Manning priest on Trinity Sunday," he wrote from Rome. "If you do, they will open their eyes in Rome." A more emphatic protest was expressed in writing by the Irish Carmelite, Archbishop Nicholson, in a letter to Ullathorne. "Though there is no ground for apprehending that Manning will retrace his steps," he wrote, "yet there has been a sad example in the person of Sibthorpe. It would be well to add that Manning prefers not being ordained so soon, and that he wished to have a year previously at Rome. Now Manning is advised not to become a religious, but a secular

priest, that he may convert by his sermons. Where has he learnt our theology to be able to preach Catholic doctrine ? Speak strongly to propaganda."

Manning did not know of this private protest, but the sarcastic note in the *Tablet* showed him how deeply suspect he remained in the eyes of the older Catholics. But he had indeed sacrificed all in his surrender ; and had it not been for the impulsive generosity and sympathy of Wiseman, his future career would have seemed hopeless indeed. Wiseman not only made his path smooth and removed all sense of isolation in his new surroundings, but before long called him to occupy a position which, after a crisis of extraordinary intensity at Rome, led eventually to his being nominated as Wiseman's immediate successor. Meanwhile, he placed himself unreservedly in submission to Wiseman, as the representative of the Church in England, and he awaited the future with characteristic courage and resignation. The effect of his conversion had been more extensive than even Wiseman can have imagined ; and his personal influence produced a whole crop of new secessions to Rome. Within three weeks of saying his first Mass at Farm Street, he had himself received into the Church his own first convert, Gilbert Talbot. Six more followed within a few months. Aubrey de Vere, the poet, was received by him at Avignon on his going to Rome, and Sir Vere and Lady de Vere followed, and then Lady Newry. By the end of November he had a personal interview with Pope Pius IX, who insisted upon his entering the Academia Ecclesiastica, the training ground of future prelates. Pio Nono watched his progress with intimate sympathy, and saw him in private audience almost every month. In London, Wiseman followed the development of his career as a Catholic priest with an invincible conviction that he was destined for great responsibilities.

In 1852 he returned to London ; preached his first sermon as a priest in the slum parish of Horseferry Road, then delivered a series of four lectures on the " Grounds of Faith " at St. George's, Southwark, and a few months later was invited by Wiseman—to the consternation of the old Catholics—to preach at the first Provincial Synod of Westminster, before the newly constituted hierarchy. In London he became attached as a sort of free-lance at Farm Street, where he said Mass daily and heard confessions, and began to extend that extraordinary series of conversions by his personal influence which continued throughout his life. For three years, until the spring of 1854, he continued to spend half his year studying in Rome and the other half preaching in London or in Rome. Then Wiseman declined to wait any longer, and recalled him to undertake the work of missionary expansion in England which he had vainly appealed to Newman to make his own.

In a private letter to his friend, Dr. Newsham, in January 1850, Wiseman gives a glimpse of the rapid headway that his work was already making, even before the restoration of the hierarchy, and of his own sense of impotence in face of the vast amount that awaited to be done. " Externally something can be seen," he wrote : " *e.g.* in less than two years we have established—and I hope solidly—seven new communities of women and three of men in this district : have opened two orphan houses ; have set up an excellent middle school, or grammar school, containing seventy boys already ; and have opened four new missions in the heart of the poor population, and at least seven others in different parts. This year I have a good prospect of four great establishments springing up in London. Yet all this I consider as nothing compared with what I hope is latently and spiritually being done. . . . I think I can safely say

that in a year or little more 15,000 persons have been reclaimed by the retreats given in courts and alleys, etc. In one place, the very worst street in London, we boldly planted a mission among thieves and prostitutes, and . . . the change was so visible that a Protestant policeman asked if it would not go on again, and observed that the Government 'ought to support it.'"

But these remarkable results had been achieved against persistent suspicion and passive resistance to his Roman methods among part of his own clergy; and Wiseman's very sensitive temperament made him often inclined to despondency, even while he progressed so fast. "There is here a clique of underground but determined opposition," he continued in this illuminating letter to his old friend, long before the opposition had reached its later climax in the protracted conflict between himself and his coadjutor, Archbishop Errington. "I assure you," he went on, "that at times I am inclined to feel low and dejected, at thinking and seeing how much there is to be done which is neglected. In one district alone we have 5000 children to educate, and accommodation for only 400. We want a thousand things which our wretched poverty prevents us from having. Pray for me, as your old pupil, my dear Dr. Newsham, and beg for much grace for me. For at times I feel ready to sink beneath the burthen." Wiseman could not possibly count upon Newman and the other Oxford converts for assistance in such work as this, which overwhelmed him from day to day. But in Manning he had obtained a born administrator of wide experience and of insatiable energy, whose eager services he now proceeded to utilise to the utmost. Newman, even if his intensely intellectual and scholarly nature had not made him unfitted for such work as the chief claim upon his time, had more than sufficient reason for

pleading that the oratory at Birmingham must be his sole occupation for many years, and insisting that " here I was placed, and hence I will not budge." He had, in fact, departed for once from his usual academic occupations, in an attempt to strengthen the popular support which Wiseman sorely needed after his appointment as Archbishop of Westminster. And the results had been disastrous at the time.

In the reaction of sympathy towards Catholicism which followed upon the outburst of No Popery that Wiseman's pastoral had provoked, Wiseman had persuaded Newman to deliver a series of propagandist lectures which have since become famous under the title " The Present Position of Catholics in England." Newman had been enormously impressed by the courage and energy with which Wiseman had met the storm after his return from Rome. " Highly as I put his gifts," he had written to Sir George Bowyer in January 1851, " I was not prepared for such a display of vigour, power, judgment, sustained energy as the last two months have brought. I heard a dear friend of his say before he got to England that the news of the opposition would kill him. How he has been out. It is the event of the time. In my own remembrance there has been nothing like it." And although Newman was temperamentally averse to anything in the nature of sensational controversy, and distrusted even Wiseman's habit of making a bold public display on every possible occasion that might advertise the growing revival of Catholicism, he undertook in his new series of public lectures at the Corn Exchange in Birmingham to appeal straight to a different public.

Adopting a much more positive and aggressive tone than he usually employed, he gave full rein to his great gifts of irony and of dramatic phrasing, and delivered

as challenging direct attacks upon the enemies of the Church as have ever been heard in England. "No evidence against us is too little ; no infliction too great," he protested with a vehemence which he very seldom showed in controversy. "Statement without proof, though inadmissible in every other case, is all fair when we are concerned. A Protestant is at liberty to bring any charge against us, and challenge us to refute, not any proof he brings, for he brings none, but his simple assumption or assertion. And perhaps we accept his challenge, and then we find we have to deal with matters so vague or so minute, so general or so particular, that we are at our wits' end to know how to grapple with them. For instance, 'Every twentieth man you meet is a Jesuit in disguise' ; or, 'Nunneries are, for the most part, prisons.' How is it possible to meet such sweeping charges ?" And, in a passage which was quite unlike his usual fastidiousness and reticence of style, he concluded : "Such, then, is popular Protestantism, considered in its opposition to Catholics. Its truth is establishment by law ; its philosophy is theory ; its faith is prejudice ; its facts are fictions ; its reasonings fallacies, and its security is ignorance about those whom it is opposing. The law says that white is black ; ignorance says, why not ? Theory says it ought to be ; fallacy says it must be ; fiction says it is, and prejudice says it shall be."

Newman's four lectures at the Corn Exchange remain as an extraordinarily lucid analysis of the difficulties with which the first opening of the Catholic revival was surrounded. But they had a sequel which effectually prevented Newman from ever embarking again upon a type of platform oratory which he never felt to be his own. In one of the lectures, he quoted, as a flagrant example of the sort of prejudice against which

Catholics had to contend, the amazing credulity and enthusiasm which had been accorded to the apostate Italian priest, Father Achilli, who had been employed as a propagandist up and down the country for slandering Catholicism. The private immorality of Father Achilli had been so notorious in Italy that he was driven to seek refuge abroad ; and the facts were so well known that Wiseman had openly attacked him in the *Dublin Review*, giving precise details of his offences and convictions. But Protestant prejudice was so strong that any apostate from Catholicism was eagerly welcomed. Achilli had been imprisoned in Rome by the cardinal-vicar for revolutionary activities, and wires were pulled from England to obtain his release on the ground that he was a political martyr. He arrived in England in the year the hierarchy was restored, and Lord Palmerston, as Foreign Secretary, had taken a personal interest in his welfare, for which he received the formal thanks of a deputation from the council of the Evangelical Alliance, who even brought Achilli with him for an interview with Palmerston. By July 1850 his activities as an anti-Catholic propagandist had become so intolerable that Wiseman published in the *Dublin Review* a detailed account of his disreputable career, citing chapter and verse for his various convictions in Italy, and Achilli never thought it worth while to risk his own exposure by bringing a libel action against Wiseman, even after the attack was republished as a pamphlet. Among Catholics his career was accordingly well known ; and when Newman decided boldly to play to the gallery in Birmingham by meeting the charges of Protestant prejudice with a vigorous counter-attack, he found ample material in Achilli's career for supplying a flagrant and topical instance of the sort of disreputable agents whom Protestant fanatics were willing to employ. With his

customary caution, however, Newman sought legal advice in the first place as to whether he could safely quote in a public lecture the statements which Wiseman had already published, without provoking any attempt at reply. Hope-Scott, as a very brilliant lawyer, whose parliamentary practice was unrivalled at the time, was as sound an opinion as he could have desired ; and by him Newman was assured that although a libel action was possible, it was so improbable that the risk could be safely taken.

In his fifth lecture, therefore, Newman boldly opened his attack on Achilli without reserve, confident that if need should arise, Wiseman would be able to produce overwhelming evidence to complete Achilli's exposure. The sequel is a matter of history, but as the Achilli trial has become only a vague legend to later generations, the text of Newman's onslaught must be quoted as illustrating the pitch to which controversy had been carried by the agitation over the " Papal aggression." That Newman, of all men, should have used such methods in one of his public lectures was a very remarkable sign of the times. " It is his presence which is the triumph of Protestants," said Newman, after describing the way in which Protestants flocked everywhere to hear Achilli denouncing the Church ; " it is the sight of him which is the Catholic's confusion. It is indeed our great confusion, that our Holy Mother could have had a priest like him. He feels the force of the argument, and he shows himself to the multitude that is gazing on him. ' Mothers of families,' he seems to say, ' gentle maidens, innocent children, look at me, for I am worth looking at. You do not see such a sight every day. Can any Church live over the reputation of such a product as I am ? I have been a Catholic and an infidel ; I have been a Roman priest and a hypocrite ; I have been a profligate

under a cowl. I am that Fr. Achilli who, as early as 1826, was deprived of my faculty to lecture, for an offence which my superiors did their best to conceal; and who, in 1827, had already earned the reputation of a scandalous friar. I am that Achilli who, in the diocese of Viterbo in February 1831, robbed of her honour a young woman of eighteen; who in September 1833 was found guilty of a second such crime, in the case of a person of twenty-eight; and who perpetrated a third in July 1834, in the case of another aged twenty-four. I am he who afterwards was found guilty of sins, similar or worse, in other towns of the neighbourhood. I am that son of St. Dominic who is known to have repeated the offence at Capua, in 1834 and 1835; and at Naples again in 1840, in the case of a child of fifteen. I am he who chose the sacristy of the church for one of these crimes and Good Friday for another. Look on me, ye mothers of England, a confessor against Popery, for ye "ne'er may look upon my like again." I am that veritable priest who, after all this, began to speak against not only the Catholic faith, but the moral law, and perverted others by my teaching. I am the Cavaliere Achilli who then went to Corfu, made the wife of a tailor faithless to her husband, and lived publicly and travelled about with the wife of a chorus singer. I am that professor in the Protestant college at Malta who, with two others, was dismissed from my post for offences which the authorities cannot get themselves to describe. And now, attend to me, such as I am, and you shall see what you shall see about the barbarity and the profligacy of the inquisitors of Rome.'"

Newman knew perfectly well that such language challenged a libel action, but he had used it only after receiving Hope-Scott's reassuring opinion that a libel action was extremely unlikely to arise. His facts were

based entirely upon what Wiseman had written a year before, and it seemed reasonable to expect that any action would be taken rather against the cardinal himself than against the oratorian in Birmingham. But to the general public Newman's name conveyed more even than Cardinal Wiseman's did yet, and the Protestant fanaticism was directed chiefly against the converts from Anglicanism to Rome. Achilli saw his chance of prevailing in an action when a jury would have to decide, in the existing state of public opinion ; and within a month he instituted proceedings against Newman for libel. With his hands full of pressing duties that had just been thrust upon him, Newman turned at once to the cardinal for evidence to support the charges he had made. But Wiseman also was more than fully occupied, and with his incurable habit of procrastination, and the constant confusion of his papers, he was unable to find where they had been put. Anxiety became really intense when Newman had to send some of the oratorian Fathers to Naples to collect the evidence. It became apparent that each separate charge he had made would have to be substantiated by witnesses brought to England at great expense. And as the weeks passed, even a minimum of evidence could not be procured. Wiseman added to the hopeless muddle by giving insufficient introductions to Newman's emissaries to Italy. Even if the witnesses could be produced, it became clear that not only the jury, but the judges, were certain to be prejudiced against Newman. And legal delays were, in fact, purposely interposed in order to keep Newman's witnesses waiting interminably in London.

Not until June 1852 was the case heard at last. Achilli, through the five days of its hearing in a densely crowded court, flatly denied all the charges made against

him, in face of a series of witnesses who testified that he had betrayed them. Only his word—proved beyond doubt by other evidence to be unbelievable—supported his case against their unshaken statements. But the jury — after the judge had summed up with a monstrously prejudiced speech, which included a tirade against the inquisition—found that the twenty-two charges against his private character were "not proved to their satisfaction." Newman was convicted of criminal libel, and cheerfully prepared to await imprisonment.

But the trial had attracted immense attention, and Newman had already won a great moral victory. Even *The Times*, in a leading article next day, expressed the general disgust of all educated people at the gross unfairness of the judge. It declared that the proceedings were "little calculated to increase the respect of the people for the administration of justice or the estimation by foreign nations of the English name and character." It now stated quite bluntly—within less than two years of its own wild outbursts against Cardinal Wiseman's famous pastoral—that "we consider that a great blow has been given to the administration of justice in this country, and that Roman Catholics will henceforth have only too good reason for asserting that there is no justice for them in cases tending to arouse the Protestant feelings of judges and juries."

Achilli's reputation had, in fact, been utterly discredited, and before long he was heard of no more. Newman had to await the postponed judgment of the court, meanwhile, which was not due until November. His counsel, when he arrived in London, unexpectedly urged him to apply for a new trial, but he stubbornly refused. Only at the last moment, in court, after Wiseman had been called in to prevail against his personal objections, did Newman yield. The effect was magical

when his counsel, Sir Alexander Cockburn, rose to address the judge, who had expected to hear only a plea for mitigation of damages. Lord Campbell had no sooner heard his unexpected demand for a new trial than, as Newman afterwards described the scene, " he changed colour, shook, and his voice trembled, and for the rest of the time (two or three hours) had to endure a lengthened attack upon him face to face, from Sir Alexander Cockburn, who thrust at his conduct in the most determined, pitiless way in the survey of the whole trial." Not until January 1853 was the issue finally decided, when a new trial was refused and a fine of only £100 was imposed. But the trial had produced an extraordinary effect in creating profound disgust among educated people towards the Protestant bigotry which had found expression in the riots of December 1850, and in the reception which had been given everywhere to Achilli until Newman exposed and discredited him. In the Catholic body, Newman's triumph was immense. The trial had cost £12,000 in all, but the whole amount was paid off by their subscriptions, which still left a handsome surplus that Newman was able to utilise later in another cause. Money poured in from all parts of the world ; and in the dedication of his next book, he paid the tribute of his " never-dying " gratitude to his " many friends and benefactors, living and dead, at home and abroad, in Great Britain, Ireland, France, in Belgium, Germany, Poland, Italy and Malta, in North America and other countries, who by their resolute prayers and penances, and by their generous stubborn efforts and by their munificent alms, have broken for him the stress of a great anxiety."

The book so dedicated was the volume of his addresses delivered in the first year of his Rectorship of the Catholic University of Ireland—for much had taken

place in the years during which the long trial had dragged through. It was during his lectures at the Corn Exchange in Birmingham that Dr. Cullen, as Primate of All Ireland, had arrived at the oratory on a visit and there persuaded Newman to accept his invitation to become Rector of a Catholic University in Ireland. The pathetic story of that brave adventure must be told in a later chapter. Throughout the preparations for the trial, Newman was actively engaged in writing his inaugural lectures and in organising his future work as Rector of the University. But the episode of the Achilli trial is incomplete without noting its connection with the first Synod of Westminster, held at Oscott in July 1852. Only a fortnight had passed since the jury had found his charges against Achilli unproven, and since *The Times* had given a lead to the violent reaction of educated opinion against the bigotry of evangelical Protestantism. Newman's friends had rallied magnificently in his support ; and although he could as yet see no prospect of escaping imprisonment, and he was still overwhelmed by the thought of such vast expenses in connection with the trial, he was already convinced that the effect upon public opinion was as great as if he had won his verdict. And the assembly of the first synod of the restored hierarchy was an event that made such unlimited appeal to his imagination that all personal distress was soon overcome by a sense of boundless rejoicing. His selection to preach before the first synod of the restored hierarchy was an honour that amply compensated for all else. It was as a victim, suffering in his own person for the glory of the Church that had now been restored in England, that he composed his immortal sermon on the " Second Spring," under circumstances of more intense emotion than at any other period of his Catholic life.

Unsurpassed in the English language as a masterpiece of sacred eloquence, the sermon is much less known than it deserves to be. As an expression of the feelings of English Catholics at the time when the hierarchy had just been restored, when the harvest of the Oxford Movement was most prolific, and when England was beginning to receive an immense influx of Catholic immigrants from Ireland, it gives a graphic picture of the time. Its description of contemporary feelings was made all the more dramatic by the contrast drawn in the earlier part of the sermon with the condition of Catholics of England as Newman—now in his fifty-second year—remembered them in his own early youth. But now at last the winter had passed away, and the second spring had come. " A second temple rises on the ruins of the old," Newman exclaimed. " Canterbury has gone its way, and York is gone, and Durham is gone, and Winchester is gone. It was sore to part with them. We clung to the vision of past greatness, and would not believe it could come to nought ; but the Church in England has died, and the Church lives again. Westminster and Nottingham, Beverley and Hexham, Northampton and Shrewsbury if the world lasts, shall be names as musical to the ear, as stirring to the heart, as the glories we have lost ; and saints shall rise out of them, if God so will, and doctors once again shall give the law to Israel, and preachers call to penance and to justice, as at the beginning." In the concluding passages—when his preaching had so moved his audience that, in the words of an eye-witness, " all were weeping, most of us silently but some audibly : as to the big-hearted cardinal, he fairly gave up the effort at dignity and self-control and sobbed like a child "—the personal strain of his own recent sufferings is plainly apparent in Newman's words. " Yes, my fathers and

brothers, and if it be God's blessed will, not saints alone, not doctors only, not preachers only, shall be ours—but martyrs, too, shall reconsecrate the soil to God. . . . Something, for what we know, remains to be undergone to complete the necessary sacrifice. May God forbid it for this poor nation's sake! But still could we be surprised, my fathers and my brothers, if the winter even now should not yet be quite over? Have we any right to take it strange if, in this English land, the springtime of the Church should turn out to be an English spring; an uncertain, anxious time of hope and fear, of joy and suffering, of bright promise and budding hopes, yet withal of keen blasts, and cold showers, and sudden storms? One thing alone I know," he went on, speaking obviously under the stress of recent personal experience, "that according to our need so will be our strength. One thing I am sure of, that the more the enemy rages against us, so much the more will the saints in heaven plead for us; the more fearful are our trials from the world, the more present to us will be our Mother Mary, and our good patrons and angel guardians; the more malicious are the devices of men against us the louder cry of supplication will ascend from the bosom of the whole Church of God for us."

CHAPTER IX

THE CONVERTS AND THE OLD CATHOLICS

NEWMAN'S personal sufferings in connection with the Achilli trial had provided a completely sufficient pretext for his refusal to embark any further upon public controversies, in which he had never felt himself to be employing his own special gifts. The sermon on the "Second Spring" at Oscott had revealed once more the extraordinary gift of leadership and of inspiration which he was able to bring, from his academic retirement, to the great occasions when Catholics assembled to mark each further stage in the revival of Catholicism. But in the meantime the problems of the revival were insistent on all sides, and Wiseman looked in despair upon the vastness of the work that remained to be done. On his return from Oscott, his mood of elation quickly turned to dismay at the difficulties that surrounded him on all sides. In a letter to Father Faber, which is published in Purcell's Life of Manning, he set out at length his own reflections upon a complicated situation which at the moment called for some immediate action. The letter surveys the position at the time so comprehensively that it must be quoted at some length. It shows the constant and always increasingly anxious preoccupation of Wiseman with his main problem, of keeping in active touch with the Catholic poor. Continually drifting into the cities, they were growing more numerous from month to month with the steady influx of immigrants from Ireland. "When I first came to

London," wrote Wiseman on 27th October 1852, "I saw that the neglected part was the poor, and to that I resolved to give immediate attention. After having consulted some zealous priests, I concluded on the plan of local missions in the midst of them. At the very same time the Rev. Mr. Hodgson proposed a similar plan, and I embraced it. He gave up the best mission in the district, and gave *himself* up to the work. God blesssed it, and three permanent missions arose from it; two most flourishing on this side the water [*i.e.* the Thames], one on the other. But these permanent results could not be everywhere secured for obvious reasons, as proximity to the church, want of a place for a chapel, poverty, etc. I therefore felt more and more the conviction strengthened that I had from the beginning entertained, that steady, continual and persevering work among the dense, sinful masses could only be carried on by religious communities. . . . When I came to London," the cardinal continued, "there was not a single community of men. There were two Jesuits *en garçon* in a house, that was all. Now it is different.

"(1) The Jesuits have a splendid church, a large house, several priests, besides Westminster. Scarcely was I settled in London than I applied to their superior to establish here a *community* in due form of some ten or twelve Fathers. I also asked for missionaries to give retreats to congregations, etc. I was answered on both heads that dearth of subjects made it impossible. Hence we have under them only a church, which by its splendour attracts and absorbs the wealth of two parishes, but maintains no schools, and contributes nothing to the education of the poor at its very door. . . .

"(2) The Redemptorists came to London as a missionary Order, and I cheerfully approved of and

authorised their coming. When they were settled down, I spoke to them of my cherished plan of missions to and among the poor. I was told that this was not the purpose of their institute *in towns*, ' and that another Order would be required for what I wanted.' The plea of ' rule ' is one which I have all along determined to respect ; and I had no more to say. They have become, as far as London is concerned, a parochial body, taking excellent care of Clapham (having five or six priests and abundant means for it), and they have given two or three missions with varied success in chapels ; but no more than they have done in Birmingham and Manchester. They have exerted no local influence ; and though lately they have offered to work among my poor (being no longer in the diocese), something seems to have paralysed their efforts.

" (3) The Passionists I brought first to England, in consequence of having read what their founder felt for it, and of a promise I made to F. Dominic years before. I got them placed at Aston Hall, and thence they have spread. In consequence it was decreed that the principal house should be in London, when I came to it. I gave them a house ; after a time they emigrated to the Hyde, thence into the fields, and now they have come to St. John's Wood. They have never done me a stroke of work among the poor, and if I want a mission from them, the local house is of no use, and I must get a person from the provincial as if it did not exist.

" (4) The Marists I brought over for a local purpose, and that they are answering well. I hope for much good from them in Spital Fields ; but, at least at present, I dare not ask them about general work.

" (5) And now last, I come to the institute of which I almost considered myself a member, San Filippo's

Oratory. I have never omitted an opportunity of expressing my thankfulness to God for its establishment here, and for the many graces it has brought with it, in the piety it has diffused, and the many it has converted. But, as a matter of fact, you may know that external work, the work I have been sighing for, is beyond its scope. You know how rigidly I have respected ' rule,' how I never thought of forcing a parish on you, how I have refrained from asking co-operation, even a sermon, because I would ask for nothing which I understand to be incompatible with the institute's purpose. . . . "

Having thus summarised the failure of all his own attempts hitherto to obtain the services of a religious community who would devote themselves to work among the Catholic poor, Wiseman continues in a pathetic retrospect: " Having believed, having preached, having assured bishops and clergy, that in no great city could the salvation of multitudes be carried out by the limited parochial clergy, but that religious communities alone *can* and *will* undertake the huge work of converting and preserving the corrupted masses, I have acted on this conviction. I have introduced or greatly encouraged establishment of five religious congregations in my diocese ; and I am just (for the great work) where I first began ! Not one of them *can* (for it cannot be want of will) undertake it. It comes within the purpose of none of them to try. . . . But what makes it to me more bitter still, from *them* comes often the cry, that in London nothing is being done for the poor ! "

How, in face of so many failures and of such inability of the religious congregations to adapt their rules to the needs of a new industrialised condition of society, was the most pressing problem of all to be overcome, or

even met at all ? Wiseman pleads, through many pages of affectionate eloquence, for a really determined attempt by the congregations to see whether their own rules cannot be made more flexible. But he declines to press them in any way to divert their energies from the special work that they are doing. Meanwhile, however, he has seen at work in France the activities of the newly formed " diocesan missionaries " who, while living in a community, " are ready to undertake any spiritual work which the bishop cut out for them."

But the only possible solution forced itself upon Wiseman in the end ; and in persuading Manning, now recalled definitely from Rome, to form in London a branch of the Oblates of St. Charles for this specific purpose, he not only brought into the front rank of the Catholic clergy the man who was to become his own successor in the archbishopric ten years afterwards, but introduced to Westminster the elements of an intolerable friction which before long was to estrange him deeply from the rest of his own clergy and force his coadjutor to appeal against him to Rome. Wiseman had already found the burden of his new duties as Archbishop of Westminster much greater than he could bear alone. For the routine work of administration he had no aptitude whatever. His personal temperament was entirely incapable of adaptation to such requirements. Bold conceptions, the power to inspire others with his own intense enthusiasm, were his special gifts as a bishop ; and the prestige of his new dignity and rank had opened up vastly greater possibilities for the exercise of his learning and his intellectual powers in public controversy. So, before long, he had applied to Rome for a coadjutor bishop, and had himself recommended for the position his old colleague and second in command at the English College in Rome, Mgr.

Errington, who had become Bishop of Plymouth when the new hierarchy were appointed. Errington and he had worked together for years on the most intimate terms imaginable, with complete mutual confidence and affection ; and the occasions when they had quarrelled had been so few that Wiseman was completely convinced that no serious friction could ever arise between them. In other respects, their temperaments and methods were almost ideally complementary. Errington was a born administrator, practical, methodical and severe, and his assistance had always relieved Wiseman of all unimportant preoccupations, and enabled him to find full scope for his naturally impulsive and imaginative genius. But Errington had the gravest misgivings when he was invited to resume their former close alliance under such very different conditions, and it was only under extreme pressure that he consented to become coadjutor to Cardinal Wiseman in 1855, with the right of succession to the see and the dignity of titular Archbishop of Trebizond.

From the very outset, the arrangement began to work badly, as Errington had always feared. Having already been a bishop with a diocese of his own, and being incapable of working except on condition of having full authority, Errington soon refused to continue further responsibility for various tasks in which he was thwarted or interrupted by the cardinal. As coadjutor, he had no personal authority in any matter which the cardinal might at any time decide to take into his own hands ; but Wiseman had impulsively given him to understand that he was to be almost an equal, rather than a subordinate ; and their episcopal relations were wrongly based from the very beginning. But in spite of a great deal of friction and cross-purposes, the arrangement worked at least tolerably well for a few years,

until the dynamic personality of Manning was interposed, when he was appointed by Pius IX, in April 1857, as Provost of the Chapter of Westminster. Manning had been busy in London and on several missions to Rome in arranging for the foundation of his first house of the oblates at Bayswater. On Whit Sunday 1857, only a few weeks after he had been appointed provost by the Pope, he gathered his colleagues around him, and the great experiment which Wiseman had planned for the extension of work among the poor was solemnly inaugurated.

Manning, as well as Errington, had been placed in a very ambiguous position by his new appointment as provost, and the natural antipathy between the two men was intensified accordingly. As Provost of the Westminster Chapter, as well as being head of the oblates who realised the cardinal's long-cherished ambition, Manning was unexpectedly given wide power, and before long he used it vigorously to promote the objects of his new congregation, in ways which infringed upon the rights or status of the ordinary clergy. His actions would have caused resentment in any case. But the peculiar conditions in Westminster added other complications. Errington, considering himself as much more than a mere coadjutor, was continually challenging the more impetuous of Wiseman's impulsive decisions; and in the conflict of views between Manning and the rest of the clergy, Errington quickly became their champion against what they regarded as usurpation of their rights by the high-handed provost. And this conflict over diocesan matters was immeasurably accentuated by the profound distrust with which Errington, as one of the leading representatives of the old Catholics, regarded the ex-archdeacon. Matters came to a head very soon when Manning boldly, with Wiseman's

approval, placed his oblate community in charge of the seminary of St. Edmund's, which both Wiseman and Manning were determined to overhaul drastically, in order to raise its standard and to impose a more Roman discipline. The old Catholics, using Errington as their protagonist, determined that a stand must now be made, and that the ex-archdeacon must be taught that the traditional practice of the Church could not be altered at his will by innovations in favour of any new congregation which he might organise.

The conflict developed quickly, and deepened with extraordinary intensity. The long story has been told in detail both in Purcell's *Life of Manning* and in Ward's *Life of Wiseman*; and its complications need not be recalled here. The main factors were quite simple. Wiseman, having appointed his old friend and ally as his coadjutor, had now introduced into the government of the diocese a source of constant friction between himself and Archbishop Errington; and Manning—whose energy and zeal and success in establishing new schools and chapels were at last making headway in the direction where Wiseman had been previously frustrated in every effort—now made matters infinitely more difficult, by antagonising the clergy on matters which affected their own sphere of activity, and by uniting the old Catholics under Errington's leadership in a determined effort to keep this aggressive convert from exercising the authority that Wiseman had given to him. Manning's position at Westminster was almost entirely isolated, and he was suspect and distrusted on all sides as a convert. But Wiseman found in him not only the ablest and most successful administrator he had yet enlisted, but a devoted and indefatigable organiser of the work which had been the dream of his episcopal life. From such

materials there developed a direct conflict at Westminster between the converts and the old Catholics. The story has since been revealed in full detail by Purcell, in publishing the long correspondence which was kept up, as the feud with Errington proceeded, between Manning and his friend Mgr. Talbot at Rome.

Talbot's position in the history of the Catholic revival in England was entirely unique. The son of Lord Talbot, of Malahide, he had become a convert in the later 'forties, and at Rome he had attracted the attention of Pio Nono. A remarkable sympathy developed between the Pope and the young English convert, and in time Mgr. Talbot became the indispensable confidant of the Pope on every matter affecting English affairs. He was a man of no great gifts or abilities, and in England and Ireland his officious meddling was distrusted and often resented, even though he maintained extremely cordial and confidential relations with a large number of the English and Irish bishops. But he was most genuinely in earnest for the advancement of the Church in England, and his natural self-importance made him a tireless correspondent. Manning had known him well in Rome, and when he became Provost of the Chapter at Westminster he had no difficulty in gaining Talbot's complete confidence and gradually inspiring his whole point of view. The resulting situation gave Manning—who was entirely alone at Westminster, apart from the fact that Wiseman relied upon him more and more—a direct and constant access to the Pope at every stage. And as the conflict with Errington developed, these two converts, Manning and Talbot, were able to obtain a direct and sympathetic hearing from the Pope himself almost from day to day, even though the entire Chapter sided against Manning, and when Errington before

long decided to appeal formally to Rome against Cardinal Wiseman himself.

Wiseman was temperamentally incapable of taking a firm line in presence of this growing conflict between his two principal assistants. Errington before long was protesting time after time against infringements of ecclesiastical discipline or procedure by Manning, and Manning refused flatly to be diverted from whatever he decided to be necessary for the furtherance of his plans. In the absence of any firm guidance from the cardinal, the personal conflict at Westminster grew bitterly acute, and Manning had begun to urge quite openly upon Mgr. Talbot in Rome that Errington's removal was becoming an absolute necessity. To achieve the removal of a coadjutor archbishop, who had been appointed with the right of succession, might well have seemed an impossibility to even a most approved and most popular provost of the Chapter. But Manning had his whole Chapter against him, and he was himself a lonely convert among an old Catholic clergy who thoroughly distrusted his methods and even his aims. But his intimate alliance with the convert Talbot in Rome gave him an influence which was worth more than any support from an enthusiastic Chapter. The correspondence between them is intensely dramatic, as the conflict with Errington takes shape, and it reveals the profound mutual antagonism that existed at the time between the converts and the old Catholics. By December 1860 Talbot was already writing to Manning : " My dearest Monsignor, . . . I agree with you more and more, and see that until the old generation of bishops and priests is removed—to Heaven I hope, because they are good men—no great progress of religion can be expected in England. I have watched the religious movement which exists there for twenty years,

and now that I can calmly and coolly look back to what has taken place, I can see how the older progress in piety, in Roman spirit, in conversions, etc., has been, in spite of the rulers of the Church and the priests who used to be looked upon as oracles. With the exception of Cardinal Wiseman, who has been the great instrument in the hand of God to help the movement, there is not an improvement in the spirit of the Church which was not opposed, and the motive which caused the opposition certainly has not been the zeal for the greater glory of God and the salvation of souls. No, it has been *prejudice*, *jealousy* ! The priests in England, and the bishops too, are good men, but *prejudice* and *jealousy* are the failings of good men."

For five years before that letter was written, the troubles between Wiseman and his coadjutor had been steadily accumulating. Errington himself had accepted the position with extreme reluctance, feeling that the arrangement was bound to be unworkable and even mischievous, and that he might be much more usefully employed in Plymouth, where he already was working as one of the new bishops. He did not sympathise with Wiseman's almost reckless encouragement of the converts ; and one of their first serious differences of opinion at Westminster arose over Wiseman's insistence upon appointing Mr. W. G. Ward—who was not only a convert, but also a layman—as Professor of Theology at St. Edmund's. Even in August 1855, Errington was already so unhappy in the position as coadjutor to Wiseman that he was writing to Talbot in Rome, to confess that he had " serious thoughts of begging the Holy See to remove me from my present position to any occupation, place or country the Holy Father may think fit, where I might do good, instead of harm." A temporary compromise was reached by his going to

Clifton as administrator of the diocese until a new bishop was appointed. But in 1856, when Ward had resigned his chair at St. Edmund's, Wiseman implored Errington to return to London, assuring him that there need be no further friction between them. Errington, however, was still reluctant to return, and he wished to accept the offer that Talbot had made to him of becoming Archbishop of Trinidad, as a means of escape which need cause no scandal. But Wiseman insisted; and when Errington had thus been recalled in spite of his own entreaties, he decided to make the best of an extremely uncomfortable and difficult situation. Manning's appointment, however, as provost of the Chapter in the following year had created a new situation, in which Errington now felt it to be a definite duty to oppose the innovations of a convert whom he regarded with special distrust, and to support the clergy in their opposition to various matters in which Manning went against their wishes. Manning's active and masterful temperament became all the more suspect because he had been given a dual capacity which conferred upon him authority much greater than even the provostship of the Chapter involved. As President of the oblates, he had complete control over a body of carefully chosen priests, who owed no direct obedience even to the archbishop himself. This anomalous position was alarming enough to Errington: but his suspicions became still graver when he discovered that Manning was taking liberties even with the general rules of the Oblates of St. Charles, according as necessity arose in connection with his own plans.

Thenceforward, Errington felt it to be his first duty to remain at Westminster to protect Wiseman from the ambitious schemes of the convert provost; and in his attitude towards Manning, he received the fullest

support both from the archbishop's private secretary, Mgr. Searle, and from practically the entire clergy of the Chapter. A more painful situation could scarcely be imagined, for everyone concerned. Each was doing all in his power to perform what he conceived to be his duty ; and Wiseman, at the mercy of varying moods of enthusiasm and depression, incapable of firmly backing either one policy or the other, and already suffering from serious ill-health, was rapidly driven to a state bordering upon nervous prostration. But Manning held on grimly to the work that he had undertaken, and Archbishop Errington, in opposing him, adopted an attitude of such authority that Wiseman at last found it necessary to insist upon his being only an ordinary coadjutor—in spite of all his previous entreaties to Errington to assume a position in which he would have real scope. Both parties felt that such grave issues were at stake that there could be no question of surrender ; and in the spring of 1862, after long delays, the issue had to be fought out in Rome itself. Ullathorne and Bishop Grant had both gone to Rome to join with the others who had come to support Errington's statement of his very genuine grievances. The Pope himself had taken the side of Wiseman and of Manning, through Talbot's persistent diplomacy on their behalf, and various compromises were suggested by which Errington might be transferred elsewhere if he would agree to resign the succession to Westminster. But Errington and his supporters now felt that the status of every bishop was involved considerably in the treatment he had himself received, and he flatly refused to resign unless the Pope definitely commanded him to do so. A very painful interview took place between him and Pio Nono, at which Errington went so far as to take down in writing, in the Pope's presence, the actual words which he had used.

Finally, the inevitable command to resign was given to him, and Errington obeyed without a murmur, and for the remainder of his life displayed a loyal and uncomplaining obedience to the Holy See which was completely in keeping with the priestly devotion of his whole career. His memory has been tragically clouded by his deposition at the hands of the Pope; and in justice it is necessary to quote the address which was sent to him by the Chapter of Westminster in 1859, when he had found it necessary to appeal to Rome against the cardinal. After expressing in most emphatic terms their repudiation of suggestions that he had incurred the hostility of the clergy, the signatories to the address paid a remarkable tribute to his tireless work as a priest and bishop. "For many months," they wrote, "we have seen you, forgetful almost of your episcopal rank, supplying the place of an ordinary priest in one of the poorest missions of London, catechising and confessing the poorest. Day by day we have witnessed your indefatigable exertions, acquainting yourself with the state of our various missions, penetrating into the courts and alleys, visiting and ministering to the poor in their wretched hovels. Nor was this all: when the day had been spent in labours such as would tire to the full the strength of an ordinary priest, you still had vigour and zeal to devote to the cause of God and His Church, for the exact and clear arrangement of the notes you had made on your visitation prove that a considerable part of the night must have been devoted to labour."

But misunderstandings had caused a most lamentable estrangement between the two men who were, each according to his own lights, working with such complete disinterestedness and energy in furtherance of the cardinal's schemes. It developed into a straight-

forward conflict between the converts and the old Catholics, in which the convert Mgr. Talbot sided entirely with Manning; while both the Pope and Cardinal Wiseman refused to abate their own encouragement to the converts who had brought such a powerful reinforcement of intellect and ability and apostolic zeal to the Church in England. "It is remarkable," wrote Talbot to Manning in 1860, "that the attack upon three of the leading converts should coincide—yourself, Newman and Faber. Although I think Newman in the *Rambler* and Faber in his works have laid themselves open to this attack, nevertheless the motive of the attacks, I am certain, is more jealousy than zeal for the greater glory of God. I believe the attack upon the converts now is only the *sfogo* of the latent feeling of jealousy which has been brooding for years in the hearts of many of the old Catholics. It was to be expected, so that I only hope the converts will remain firm under their persecution, and I have no doubt that they will triumph in the end. Their zeal, their energy, their superiority in many respects to the old stock, is the cause of the jealousy."

Such language would suggest, at this interval of time, that its author was the victim of a form of persecution-mania. But, while the old Catholics viewed with resentment as well as distrust the restless activity of the converts, who made no secret of their own intellectual contempt for the English Catholics, there were real grounds for the grievance which the converts felt; and Manning was scarcely less conscious of the suspicions shown towards converts than was his indefatigable correspondent in Rome. He attached himself in the closest manner possible to the cardinal, whom he revered as "the man who had led the mission of the Church in England for twenty years. . . . Since his

Moorfields lectures his has been the hand to execute the restoration of the hierarchy, the organisation of the whole ecclesiastical system, and the work of all the synods. It is perfectly true that he is the Holy See in England, in a way to call down on himself in a glorious isolation the reproaches of this letter [an attack on the converts and the favour shown to them by the cardinal signed by an ' Old Catholic ' in the *Morning Star*], and all who are in any degree near or afar share in it. And I thank God as a convert that the converts are identified with him ; and this, too, is turned to his reproach."

Much more was, in fact, involved in the conflict than the mere question of admitting converts on equal terms into the councils of the Church. Manning in particular saw, even more clearly than Wiseman had seen, the great change in the outlook which resulted from the restoration of the hierarchy. Until that happened, the work of the Church in England had consisted almost exclusively either in the personal ministrations of the clergy to the Catholic gentry and the small missions congregated around their estates, or else in caring for the Irish immigrants in the industrial cities, who were only just beginning to arrive in large numbers. But after 1850 the restoration of the hierarchy had created entirely new conditions. Manning set out the matter with admirable clearness in 1859 in a letter to Talbot, which explained his own conviction that " the work of the Church in England has so rapidly become both so much larger and so much more exacting, that men are needed now who, twenty or even ten years ago, were comparatively not required. . . . The Church has begun to touch upon the English people at every point, and entirely new demands are made upon it. Since the Church has re-entered into the public and private life

and order of the English people, entirely new kinds of work are demanded.

"(1) First, the contact, and sometimes conflict, with English society in all its classes, from the lowest to the highest—the most educated, intellectual and cultivated, requires a new race of men as teachers, directors and companions.

"(2) Next, the whole work of the Church in relation to the Government in all the public services, civil and military, at home and in the colonies, needs a class of men of whom we possess very few.

"(3) Thirdly, the Catholic laity, including Catholics by birth, are beginning to be dissatisfied with the standard of education, both in themselves and in their priests. The close contact with the educated classes of English society forces this on them.

"(4) Again, a large number of our laity, chiefly converts, are highly educated, and our priests are, except individuals, not a match for them.

"(5) This touches on a very large subject, which I can only put in few words. The educated laymen, in London at least, are passing out of the spiritual direction of the secular clergy of the diocese. They find their spiritual and intellectual wants insufficiently met, and they go to the religious bodies. I think this a very serious matter for the diocese, and for all its active works; and I see no hope of redressing it, unless Spanish Place, Chelsea, and Warwick Street can be made vigorously efficient, both spiritually and intellectually, before five years are out. This, too, makes me so strong in urging that Westminster should be held and some work done in it by the bishop for the diocese.

"(6) Now, this is another matter which gives me real anxiety, and that is, the state of many of our ablest and most active laymen. There is a tone in matters of

education, government, politics and theology which is free up to the boundary of legitimate freedom, if not beyond it, and they are men who deserve a good and fair treatment. Moreover, they cannot be put down or checked like boys. I am sincerely afraid that we shall have a kind of de Lamennais School among some who, like him, are intellectual champions of the Church, and nothing will produce this so surely as snubbing. They could be easily directed by any one whom they thought fair and friendly, especially if, in the way Dr. Orr has done, he grapples with their intellectual difficulties."

That letter throws a flood of light on the whole conflict—revealing at once the intellectual ferment which had arisen in England among the more educated Catholics, and the sympathy, however guarded, which Manning felt towards it ; which was one of the chief reasons for Wiseman's giving him so much encouragement and rapid promotion, and was, no less, one of the chief causes of the intrigues that never altogether ceased in certain quarters to procure the removal of Wiseman himself from England. The enforced resignation of Archbishop Errington was undoubtedly a triumph for Manning's views in these respects. But Manning was fighting against overwhelming odds. Manning used to call the old Catholics " Gallican," because of their traditions of insular prejudice and aloofness from the general trend of Catholicism in Europe. Some of the bishops complained strongly to Rome of the fact that such expressions had been used ; and Manning corrected himself, in a letter to Talbot in 1860, by referring instead to " the old, national, exclusive English form of Low Catholicism." And three years later, when Errington's friends were organising support for his own claim to succeed to the Archbishopric of Westminster after Wiseman's death, Manning writes : " I

should regard such an event as a disaster for the diocese and for the mission of the Church in England—as a return of the old narrow spirit which made the Catholic Church in England act and feel like a sect of dissenters."

By 1863, when Wiseman's health was already so shaken that his death might be expected almost from month to month—and the conflicts in his diocese had for several years kept him on the verge of brain fever—the question of his successor renewed the controversy at fever pitch. Efforts were made to ensure that, once Wiseman was no longer there, Errington's quite valid claim to inherit the succession must be enforced. Those who had disliked the foreign methods of Wiseman, and above all those who distrusted the tireless energy and determined diplomacy of Manning, decided that the opportunity to instal so exemplary a representative of the old Catholics as head of the hierarchy must by every possible means be exploited and secured. And, in the last years of Wiseman's life, the struggle for the succession raged fiercely at Rome between the upholders of the old order and of the new. Manning himself declared with solemn emphasis that Errington's promotion to Westminster " would undo all the work Wiseman had done since the restoration of the hierarchy and throw back the progress of Catholicism in England for a generation." But the urgency of appointing a new coadjutor before Wiseman's death should occur was already very apparent. At Rome, Mgr. Talbot pulled every possible wire to prevent Errington's reappointment. " I feel convinced," he wrote, " that all the bishops in England would write to recommend Dr. Errington for Westminster, not from liking the man, but from an English feeling of triumphing over Cardinal Wiseman and gaining a victory over the Holy See. Perhaps Dr. Ullathorne might not join from

Bishop Ullathorne

private motives. And perhaps Dr. Cornthwaite from real goodness. But all the rest have not sufficient veneration for the Holy See so as to bow to its decree, and not act against their spirit."

But Wiseman was too infirm to confront the difficulty of choosing his own coadjutor in face of so many jealousies. Manning wrote to Rome that he was quite sure that Wiseman only wished that the Pope would solve his difficulties for him by making the appointment. In the meantime he notes the progressive decay of the influence of the older clergy, who were no longer likely to be even formidable in the diocese unless Errington should return and restore their courage. " I think the cardinal is hardly aware how few they are, and how little weight they have in the diocese. A new race has grown up, and the Orders and congregations have overpowered them. The public feeling of the diocese is against the old spirit, which is dying out. But some who are near the cardinal, I suspect, intimidate him." The question was, nevertheless, too important to leave undecided, and throughout 1863 Manning and Talbot were constantly endeavouring to persuade Wiseman to make up his mind. His health grew so precarious that Manning broached the question again and again, but without result. In the first days of 1864 he was writing from Rome to urge the nomination of Bishop Ullathorne—regardless of the fact that Ullathorne had been the principal leader of the old Catholics against Wiseman on various matters at Rome. He shrewdly urged the appointment on the ground that—while " it would give to the Chapter neither victory nor defeat, but a master" —it might be expected also to convert Ullathorne into an ally of Wiseman's thenceforward. There was no doubt that Manning judged rightly—that Ullathorne was " beyond comparison the best " of the other bishops.

But Wiseman, so infirm and shaken in his nerves by these years of conflict in his own house, would not listen to any appeal. He wrote to Rome protesting definitely against Ullathorne's suggested appointment, and in February he found peace at last in an explicit information from Rome that no coadjutor was to be appointed until he asked for one himself. Once again Manning, in sending him the news, conveyed discreetly to him the danger that all his work might be undone if Errington should be reinstated. "I feel sure," he wrote, "that the Holy Father is as much alive as ever to the fact that your work in England is a whole, and that it has been a counteraction against an old spirit, and, I must say, an old party, who at any moment might, in your absence, reverse or retard a great deal of your work since the hierarchy, and through the hierarchy." But Wiseman firmly and affectionately instructed Manning to leave the matter entirely alone. He had made up his own mind—to nominate no successor himself, and to leave the choice to the unrestricted decision of the Chapter of Westminster.

CHAPTER X

NEWMAN AND THE LAITY

It is necessary to go back slightly to follow the career of Newman after the Achilli trial, in an experiment which was foredoomed to failure but which had a profound influence upon the Catholic revival. The Achilli trial was not yet thought of when Archbishop Cullen, the Irish Primate, had come to Newman at the beginning of his series of popular lectures in Birmingham, to invite him formally to come to Ireland and found a Catholic University in Dublin, of which he was to be the first Rector. Newman was already fully occupied with the oratory, but the opportunity seemed to him to offer such scope for his own gifts and training that he accepted it; and the proposal began to require the greater part of his attentions. He had no knowledge whatever of Ireland, or of Irish conditions; but Rome had formally approved the decision of the Irish hierarchy to reject Peel's negotiations on the University question, and to persist in discouraging Catholic students from having any connection with the undenominational Queen's Colleges in Dublin, Belfast and Cork. Something, however, was obviously needed to supply the want of higher education for young Catholics, and Newman threw all his energies into planning the new Catholic University which Dr. Cullen had proposed.

Not for several years did he realise that the invitation was little more than the personal wish of Dr. Cullen himself, and that the rest of the Irish hierarchy were

profoundly sceptical as to its success, and were by no means all sympathetic to the idea of having an Englishman—still less a recent English convert—as its Rector. The first discouragement came when Cullen failed even to reply to Newman's urgent letters on questions requiring immediate decision. And it took two years, during which the protracted Achilli trial dragged on, before Newman was able to commence his work. He had failed to obtain a formal invitation to his task from the Irish hierarchy. He had been refused the right even to appoint his own Vice-Rector. His first acquaintance with the principal members of the Irish clergy was a further shock; and Father Curtis, the superior of the Jesuits at Gardiner Street—the first Irish priest whom he consulted—had told him bluntly that he did not believe the scheme could possibly succeed. He told Newman that Ireland did not even possess any considerable number of young Catholics who would come to a University: the middle-class was still too poor, and the gentry, who wanted their sons to have recognised degrees, sent them to Trinity College or abroad. Nor did he even see any probability that evening classes would be attended, since there was scarcely anyone whom they would benefit sufficiently to ensure their attendance. "My advice to you is this," said Father Curtis, when Newman had already spent three years in impatient waiting for Dr. Cullen to complete his plan, "to go to the archbishop and say, 'Don't attempt the University—give up the idea.'" At Maynooth, the plan was regarded almost with dislike, and even Newman's devoted friend, Dr. Russell, had no hopes of its success.

That Newman should have been unable to appreciate the difficulties and the limitations of such a project in Ireland was only to be expected. He had no illusions himself as to his own ignorance of Irish conditions. He

had accepted Dr. Cullen's earnest invitation in the belief that the Irish archbishop would never have proposed it lightly ; and, in the confidence so created, he had believed that here was an unrivalled opportunity for the employment of his own special gifts which could not easily find scope otherwise. Proceeding on the assumption that the Irish Catholics wanted a University, and would provide a reasonable number of students, Newman had been chiefly preoccupied with the special aspects of his own work. He had accepted without reserve Dr. Cullen's appeal for assistance in providing an alternative to the undenominational atmosphere of the Queen's Colleges ; and he set himself to elaborate a complete practical scheme for the establishment of a wholly Catholic University. He was still more attracted by the idea that, while Ireland would provide the necessary nucleus of students and of resources, the new University would also enable the much smaller body of English Catholics to receive a University education. From the co-operation and fusion of English and Irish Catholics he hoped for a real strengthening of the Catholic forces.

But his ideas met with no sympathy in Ireland. The Irish Catholics, and particularly at Maynooth, were as much inclined as were the old Catholics in England to resent the importance bestowed upon this very English convert who was appointed to direct the course of Catholic studies in the new University. The Nationalist antipathy towards all English importations only strengthened their natural repugnance to being instructed by an English convert, whose conversion was not yet ten years old. Trouble arose at once when Newman produced the list of professors and lecturers whom he wished to appoint—allotting a large proportion of his chairs to English Catholics or converts. Once again he had to

accept a modification of his plans, and before long he was confronted with new complications. His own conception of the special possibilities of the University was that it would bring English and Irish Catholics together, to the great benefit of both sides ; and that the University ought to devote special attention to Celtic studies. But if he had anticipated opposition and friction between the English and Irish elements, he had not foreseen acute differences of opinion concerning the Irish appointments. Dr. Cullen was a staunch Conservative, who disapproved vehemently of the Young Ireland party and its efforts to revive an Irish Ireland. The Young Irelanders had swept the country ten years before, in a revulsion of feeling against Daniel O'Connell after his failure to achieve repeal by his monster meetings. They had come forward with a new programme, much as Sinn Fein came forward in recent years, refusing to submit to the mechanical party discipline of the older Nationalist agitation, and concentrating largely upon economic questions and a cultural revival. The principal leader of the movement had been a young Protestant Nationalist, Thomas Davis, whose intellectualism exasperated O'Connell and precipitated an open rupture between the Young Irelanders and O'Connell's personal following among the older generation. The ignominious collapse of O'Connell's repeal agitation had been followed by the three years of awful famine. Davis died suddenly in his youth ; O'Connell had died broken-hearted during the famine ; most of the Young Ireland leaders had been imprisoned in connection with the abortive rebellion of 1848, when the country was driven to despair ; and Gavan Duffy, the ablest of the party, had emigrated to Australia, where he was to become Prime Minister many years later. But the influence of the Young Irelanders still lived, and while

Dr. Cullen disapproved intensely of their new spirit of adventure and revolt, Newman was very soon attracted by the sincerity and the idealism of the younger men. They were just the type of active and generous minds whom he desired to attract to the University ; and their devotion to the revival of Celtic studies and national tradition had created something like the atmosphere in which he had hoped to conduct his faculty of Celtic research.

But Cullen, who had been almost alone in desiring the University and in inviting Newman to organise it, was bitterly opposed to the Irish cultural revival in which Newman himself discerned such promising material. No wonder that Newman had not only lost all enthusiasm, but had grown thoroughly despondent, before the first beginning was even made in 1854. But he persevered valiantly, and at last the foundation actually came to life. It was a personal achievement from start to finish ; and although it had barely sixty students enrolled on its books, and his Rectorship lasted only a few years, it left a number of permanent memorials which have had a lasting influence. Not the least of them was the building of the very beautiful Byzantine University chapel in Stephen's Green, which has for years been one of the few centres of University life for the Catholics of Dublin. A considerable part of the money required for its building was provided by the surplus which had been subscribed in excess of the costs of the Achilli trial. The medical school, established in a separate building, was a success from the start and survived after the collapse of the University, remaining the chief training centre for Catholic medical men until the foundation of Mr. Birrell's National University of Ireland in 1908, when it was incorporated as part of University College, Dublin.

But apart from these living and permanent memorials,

Newman himself made a personal contribution by his famous series of lectures on " The Idea of a University," which will be read as long as his name is remembered. He also undertook the editorship of the *University Gazette*, and by his personal influence among his staff and the students he infused an inspiration and a sense of fastidious scholarship which have gradually affected the whole of Irish Catholicism ever since. The contact between Newman's mind and the Irish Catholics of his generation was to have many repercussions afterwards in his own relations with Irish Catholics in England, when his own views and those of Cardinal Manning began later to diverge acutely. His powers of sympathy were extraordinary, and in spite of all opposition and discouragement he became devotedly attached to the Irish Church. It was one of his first shocks to discover what hostility was aroused by his proposal that Cardinal Wiseman should be made Chancellor of the University. The Irish bishops resented strongly the suggestion that an English archbishop should be given even such an honorific position in preference to the Primate of Ireland. And when Wiseman, in his impulsive way, actually informed Newman that he had arranged with the Holy See that Newman was to be made a titular bishop, to give greater prestige to his Rectorship, it was some time before Newman realised that the bishopric was never conferred upon him solely because the Irish hierarchy had resented Wiseman's interference in the matter, and because they felt that the recommendation ought to have proceeded from themselves. But while he found himself confronted even with definite hostility, as an English intruder, by some of the Irish bishops—especially Dr. MacHale of Tuam—it was with Dr. Cullen, who had been the cause of his going to Ireland, that he found himself in most acute disagreement.

Cullen disapproved of appointing Englishmen as professors, but disapproved even more of his friendship with some of the Young Irelanders. And they disagreed especially upon the share which laymen ought to have in the control of the University. Newman held strongly that the laity ought, on principle, to be given a large measure of control, and that in practice they could not be expected to support the University generously unless they were given such encouragement. But Cullen was vehemently opposed to any element of lay control. His conception of a Catholic University was, not only that it should prevent Catholics from going to Protestant Universities, but that the hierarchy should have the most absolute power over its organisation in every detail. To Newman, who contemplated a sort of Catholic Oxford, Cullen's views were the negation of his own first principles of University life. If Cullen's views should prevail, he wrote to a friend, " it will simply be priest-ridden. I mean men who do not know literature and science will have the direction of the teaching. I cannot conceive the professors taking part in this. They will be simply scrubs." The conflict with Cullen was to have a lasting effect upon Newman's attitude towards the laity in later years. " On both sides of the Channel," he was writing already to Mr. Ormsby, " the deep difficulty is the jealousy and fear which is entertained in high quarters of the laity. Dr. Cullen seems to think that ' Young Irelandism ' is the natural product of the lay mind everywhere, if let to grow freely; and I wish I could believe that he is singular in his view. Nothing great or living can be done except when men are self-governed and independent; this is quite consistent with a full maintenance of ecclesiastical supremacy."

In face of so many misunderstandings and complications, it was impossible that Newman should continue long in the Rectorship. Discouragement at the hands of Archbishop Cullen did, in fact, cause many of the laity to withdraw their support, and by 1857 Newman had made up his mind definitely to resign. He had seen from the beginning that the circumstances did not exist under which the University could possibly succeed. A long series of misunderstandings and personal conflicts made him feel that his time would be more usefully employed otherwise. He had, moreover, become almost obsessed with a conviction that he could not hope to live much longer, and that he must expect a paralytic stroke almost at any time, after so many years of "head-work." Early in May 1857 his anxieties were resolved for him by the receipt of a letter from his community at Birmingham, informing him that they could no longer continue his leave of absence, and that his return had become a matter of urgent necessity. The secret became known quickly, after Newman had written confidentially to each of the Irish bishops, and great efforts were made to persuade him to stay on. He was offered almost any terms, as a compromise, if he would even come to Dublin for a few months in the year. But his mind was made up. He left Ireland in the autumn of 1857, having consented to remain Rector for a further term though he could not reside in Dublin. But he did not return to Ireland till the end of 1858, and then he ended his connection with the University.

By the time he returned to England, Manning's influence with Wiseman had already grown to be a dominant force ; and in the following years the divergence of views between the two great converts, who were to become the respective leaders of such different tendencies, developed acutely. Newman's experiences

in Ireland had brought him into personal contact with the Irish Catholics on intimate terms, and he retained a deep interest in many aspects of the work upon which he had been engaged. His sympathies had been specially aroused towards the Irish laity in face of the exorbitant claims to complete jurisdiction over the University by Archbishop Cullen; and he became henceforward a strong upholder of the layman's rights. Manning, on the other hand, with his dictatorial and energetic temperament, and his overwhelming sense of the rights of the Holy See, was becoming more and more involved in policies which aroused opposition among the laity, besides antagonising the national prejudices of the old English Catholics. The conflict between the two great converts became extremely paradoxical; and Newman gradually advanced to a position which was strangely remote from his earlier attitude in the days of the Tractarian Movement. One of the first and most potent influences in directing his mind towards sympathy with Rome had been his deep horror at the Liberalism which was pervading Europe. He had become impressed by the inability of Protestantism to withstand the disintegration of Christian beliefs which Liberalism was causing everywhere; and with deep reluctance he had been forced to turn to Rome as an ally, however uncongenial, in resisting the tide of agnosticism and intellectual anarchy. At the same time he had been kept back for years from any understanding of Romanism, by his prejudice against O'Connell and the Liberal Catholics. Yet now, after his three years in Ireland, he had returned from Dublin with a real sympathy towards the Irish Catholic democracy; and his conflicts with the Irish bishops over the claims of the laity to representation in the University has made him so far an upholder of the rights

of the laity that, within a few years, he was to be denounced in Rome, and even delated to the Holy See, as the most formidable agent of Catholic Liberalism in England.

Manning's emergence as the protagonist on the other side was, at any rate superficially, no less paradoxical. The modern tradition which is most prominently associated with his name makes him live as the Radical cardinal who was the personal friend and counsellor of labour leaders, the associate of Sir Charles Dilke in his efforts towards advanced social reforms, the ally of W. T. Stead in his popular enthusiasms, and, not least, the friend and sympathiser of the Irish democratic leaders. Yet it was the same Radical Manning who was most vigorous in the repression of independent views among the laity; while the intensely Conservative Newman became their principal spokesman and their guide. Stranger still, perhaps, was the fact that Newman, who loathed public life, and lived in his own spiritual world, was so deeply influenced by his national feelings as an Englishman that he to some extent even continued the "Gallican" tradition of the older Catholics in England.

A new line of division had, in fact, appeared already among the converts themselves; and as they became gradually fused in the Catholic body, which had found it difficult to assimilate them at first, the old tendencies were perpetuated under new leaders, with Newman and Manning in opposing camps. So long as Wiseman lived, the converts had not yet gained the position of leadership which they afterwards achieved. And Wiseman, as an old Catholic himself, could be reproached only for his impetuous encouragement to the converts; since his personal orthodoxy was never suspect for a moment. His own policy was to insist upon the

sovereign authority of Rome, as overriding all sectional disputes or controversies in England. But by the time Wiseman died, the forces had become much more developed and organised on both sides; and after his death, the sudden promotion of Manning brought in a new era of acute and open controversy.

Newman left Dublin with a sense that six precious years had been expended upon a project which had been foredoomed to failure; and for years afterwards his spirit was largely broken by the opposition which he had incurred in Ireland. But on his return to England he found his old friends turning to him urgently once more, for intellectual guidance, and for his indispensable help in the work they felt to be required. The new generation in England had passed more and more under the influence of a group of brilliant agnostics. John Stuart Mill had brought into being a school of extremely able writers, who openly proclaimed their disbelief in any religion whatever. Darwin was beginning to shatter the foundations of traditional belief in England by his theories of natural selection, and Huxley was soon to undertake that vehement campaign of agnostic propaganda, allied with popular "science," which was to play havoc with the conventional religion of the ordinary Englishman. Newman himself had foreseen the development of such attacks upon all Christianity before they had attained any really formidable proportions. In one of his lectures in Dublin he had said, "I may be describing a school of thought in its fully developed proportions, which at present everyone to whom membership with it is imputed will at once begin to disown, and I may be pointing to teachers whom no one will be able to descry. Still, it is no less true that I may be speaking of tendencies and elements which exist, and he may come in person at last who comes at first to us

merely in his spirit and in his power." To the ecclesiastical world in Ireland, and scarcely less in England, such discussion of potential agencies of infidelity seemed a gratuitous awakening of intellectual unrest. Father William Neville has left it on record that Newman found "no sympathy of thought on the subject, whether in England or in Ireland," and that "any allusion to the possibility of such a danger as trials to faith was thought strange—nay, more. Even in conversation such an allusion was too unwelcome to be repeated." But Newman's sensitive temperament was already acutely aware of a possible future danger. And when he returned to England he found that W. G. Ward and a few others of his Oxford friends were already growing alarmed at precisely the same menace.

The contrast between the temper of the old Catholics and of the intellectual converts was vividly apparent in what followed. The old Catholics had been accustomed to leave theological speculation severely alone. But the Oxford converts had been trained in an atmosphere of persistent speculation and untrammelled discussion ; and they followed each new phase of thought in the Universities with unflagging attention. They were aware of the sudden and all but complete reaction from religious influences which had followed their own retirement from Oxford, and they saw how quickly a new school of Liberal agnosticism was gaining undisputed sway in the University. They felt the need for a vigorous school of Catholic apologists who would be capable of answering each new attack as it arose, and would meet with expert criticism the new and disquieting doctrines of scientific and theological modernists, who were all tending in various ways to increase the unsettlement of popular belief in religion. Newman shared to the fullest extent the anxieties of this kind

which were put to him by Ward and his friends ; and in the year after his return from Dublin he undertook one more great project with that general purpose in view, in preparing a new translation of the Scriptures. A band of expert translators was collected, and Newman had actually started some of them at work, when Wiseman suddenly cast him back into despondency by announcing that objections had been raised to his work in America, on the ground that a similar project was already being prepared there. One more year had been lost, and one more great plan had fallen through.

But Newman had founded in Dublin a serious scientific and literary review, the *Atlantis*, and he devoted his talents for the time being to writing occasionally for it and for the *Rambler*. It was in the last years of his Rectorship that Newman had made the acquaintance of a young man of extraordinary scholarly attainments, whose association with him was to have great historical importance. Sir John Acton, a nephew of one of the first English cardinals since the Reformation, had returned to England from Munich, where he had been intimately acquainted with the German scholar, Dr. Döllinger. Newman was immediately impressed by the wide range of Acton's reading and information, and he was in full sympathy with the aims of Dr. Döllinger in trying to interpret Catholic doctrine in the light of modern scientific and biblical research. His own views at the time are expressed in a letter to Sir Frederick Rogers : " We are in a strange time. I have not a shadow of misgiving that the Catholic Church and its doctrine are directly from God—but then I know well that there is in particular quarters a narrowness which is not of God. And I believe great changes before now have taken place in the direction of the Church's course, and that new aspects of her

aboriginal doctrines have suddenly come forth, and all this coincidently with changes in the world's history, such as are now in progress ; so that I never should shut up, when new views are set before me, though I might not take them as a whole." To Acton and the younger Catholics who were alive to the increasing agnosticism of their generation, Newman's attitude was an immense inspiration and encouragement. They saw how hopeless it was to combat the new ideas either by the cautious and disdainful silence which had been traditional among the older Catholics, or—still more—by appeals to arguments and methods which had long grown obsolete. Newman's return to England from Dublin brought them new confidence in the presence of a leader of incomparable intellectual attainments. It also gave a sanction to their own speculative tendencies, and to their desire for some status in ecclesiastical affairs, which they had been unable to find hitherto. His was the prestige of having been the Rector of a Catholic University, which, at its outset, had been quite reasonably compared with the international status of Louvain. And in the year after his return, among so many other activities and disappointments, he had carried out yet another ambitious scheme, which has endured and developed magnificently to our own time, in founding a Catholic secondary school at Edgbaston in connection with the oratory in Birmingham. Nothing showed more clearly the enormous respect and veneration with which his name was regarded than the eagerness with which so many of the recent converts, and many of the old Catholic families as well, committed their sons to his supervision as the director of the oratory school.

With the oratory school upon his hands, in addition to the charge of the oratory itself in Birmingham,

Newman now set himself to devote the few years which, as he expected, still remained to him to active encouragement of the work which his various friends were so anxious to undertake, in educating Catholic opinion in preparation for the onslaught of agnosticism. Acton, as the most learned of Döllinger's young disciples, had come back to England determined to conduct at home the same campaign of thorough historical and scientific investigation which he had seen at work in Germany. His first objective was to secure a platform in one of the existing Catholic reviews. The resignation of F. M. Capes from the editorship of the *Rambler* enabled him to become principal collaborator of Richard Simpson, who succeeded Capes as editor. Capes had already carried his own speculative tendencies to lengths which dismayed even Newman himself: and the new editors proceeded more cautiously. But Acton invited Döllinger and Montalembert to contribute to the review; and the freedom with which Döllinger dogmatised about his own favourite subjects very soon brought the *Rambler* into extremely serious trouble. The older Catholics still held strongly that this parade of doubts and uncertainties, upon matters which most Catholics accepted without questioning as being settled by the traditional teaching of the Church, was only calculated to arouse a spirit of unnecessary scepticism among the faithful, who were quite incompetent to judge the abstruse questions at issue. A statement by Döllinger to the effect that St. Augustine was "the father of Jansenism" resulted in his articles being delated to Rome. Cardinal Wiseman also raised strong objections to a criticism of the bishops on the education question which had appeared in the review. By the beginning of 1859 Newman learned that the *Rambler*, which he had done his best to encourage in its main programme, was

to be formally denounced in the bishops' Lenten pastorals. Some drastic action was immediately necessary, and Newman saw that he himself was the only possible peacemaker. He persuaded Simpson to resign the editorship forthwith, on condition that the *Rambler* was to escape public censure. But Acton had incurred the suspicions of the authorities no less than Simpson. The only possible solution was found to lie in Newman's accepting the editorship himself. He was already overwhelmed with other duties, but he was determined that the *Rambler* should survive if it could possibly be saved. As a " bitter penance," which he accepted at the personal request of Cardinal Wiseman, he agreed to shoulder yet another burden.

Judged by ordinary standards of circulation, or even of influence, the *Rambler* could not be described as an important review. But Newman's earnestness in trying to save it from extinction, and the conflicts which arose through his association with its suspect tradition, give a permanent importance to its history. Newman was absolutely convinced of the necessity for a serious review of the kind to be conducted by safe hands; and it did undoubtedly, under his guidance, perform valuable educational work. But the result was to split still further the hitherto vaguely coherent forces of the converts, and it helped on that separation between the Liberal and the ultramontane sections which was to reach its climax in Manning's uncompromising efforts in connection with the declaration of Papal infallibility in 1870. Newman has left on record, with customary lucidity, his own conviction as to the purpose which a Catholic review should serve—" to create a body of thought as against the false intellectualities of the age, to surround Catholicism with defences necessary for and demanded by the age, to take a Catholic view of

and give a Catholic interpretation to the discoveries of the age." But he was years in advance of his generation in his attitude towards the higher education of Catholics. And his experience with the *Rambler* only showed what discouragement still confronted the most zealous converts in what they attempted.

The question was so typical of the whole relations between the old and the new generation that Wilfrid Ward's vivid summary of the situation must be quoted : " By the bishops," writes Wilfrid Ward, " the *Rambler* seems to have been regarded not as a periodical attempting valuable and necessary work, though betraying at times a one-sided and disrespectful spirit and tone, but rather as a wanton disturber of the peace which did no good, and went out of its way to criticise them and weaken their authority. To Acton, and still more to Simpson, the flings at the bishops were such a favourite indulgence that self-denial on this point seemed unattainable by them. The respect due alike to authority, to tradition, and to public feeling, though recognised by them in theory, was made light of in practice. To such as Faber and W. G. Ward, on the other hand, the intellectualism which coloured the *Rambler* appeared so opposed to the Catholic spirit that they were not disposed to dwell on its positive merits much more than were the bishops themselves. Thus while the review had sympathy from such learned Catholic writers as the Bollandists, from the thinkers and scholars of Munich, from friends of Montalembert and Lacordaire in France, the prejudice against it in England was so great that even the May number which Newman edited aroused sharp criticism." To Newman, such criticism was more than he was willing to face. He applied at once to Bishop Ullathorne for a theological censor for the review. Ullathorne declared censorship to be

impossible, in view of the tone of its writers. He showed such disappointment at Newman's having assumed the editorship that Newman accepted without hesitation the bishop's suggestion that he should retire from the position in July. So yet one more of his generous ventures had failed miserably. But the *Rambler* continued, and Newman could find a slender consolation in reflecting that " my own brief editorship secured Acton and Simpson a trial of three years more, *i.e.* up to 1862."

" It seems to me," wrote Edward Thompson when he heard of Newman's resignation, " that we must wait for a convert bishop for such a periodical as the times demand." Little did he foresee that within five years the convert Manning would have become not only a bishop, but the head of the English hierarchy ; and that the convert Archbishop of Westminster would go to lengths, in his efforts to restrain Newman and, still more, Acton and his friends, which none of the old Catholics would ever have contemplated. But in the meantime the convert intellectuals felt that they were being unpardonably stifled, and that Newman was being called upon to endure disgraceful humiliations. " I cannot but admire and acquiesce in your spirit," Henry Wilberforce wrote to him, " but I feel deeply that our bishops do not understand England and the English. Either the Catholic laity will kick, or, what I rather fear, they will more and more fall below Protestants in intellectual training and have no influence on the public mind." Newman unquestionably shared the same feeling on the matter ; and in the last number which he edited he discussed the question bravely, but with an unimpeachable deference to authority, in an article " On consulting the Laity in matters of Doctrine." He postulated as an indisputable assumption that " we do

unfeignedly believe . . . that their lordships really desire to know the opinion of the laity on subjects in which the laity are especially concerned. If even in the preparation of a dogmatic definition the faithful are consulted, as lately in the instance of the Immaculate Conception, it is at least as natural to anticipate such an act of kind feeling and sympathy in great practical questions." Newman's article appealed boldly to the lessons of history, and recalled particularly the part played by the laity in the years after the Council of Nicæa, when the bishops had been much less determined than the laity in repudiating Arianism. "The episcopate did not, as a class or order of men," Newman wrote, "play a good part in the troubles consequent on the Council, and the laity did. The Catholic people in the length and breadth of Christendom were the obstinate champions of Catholic truth, and the bishops were not." In a phrase which caused bitter feeling among many of the more conventional theologians, he went so far as to say that, during this period—concerning which his historical knowledge was incontestable—"there was a temporary suspense of the functions of the *Ecclesia Docens*." Catholics had not yet become fully conscious of the extreme caution and fastidiousness that governed every sentence that Newman wrote; and this last sentence was detached from its context and quoted with fierce disapproval. It was not long before Newman learned that Bishop Brown of Newport had delated his article to Rome. His prestige was shaken, and confidence in his orthodoxy did not recover for years afterwards, even though his defence was so conclusive, when the matter was raised in Rome, that no further steps were taken in connection with it. For several years, nevertheless, Newman persevered in supporting the *Rambler* and contributing to it; but almost

every new number contained some indiscretion which he deplored, and before long he found it impossible to retain any connection whatever with the review.

But a new problem arose in which Newman's association and sympathies with Acton and the editors of the *Rambler* brought him into direct conflict with Manning, whose influence as Provost of Westminster had already begun to dominate Cardinal Wiseman. Cavour's spoliation of the Papal territories in 1860 had raised in an acute form the question of the Pope's temporal power; and Manning and W. G. Ward now joined forces in a determined campaign on behalf of the temporal power among English Catholics, while Acton and the *Rambler* adopted an attitude which was much more akin to the prevalent indifference of English public opinion towards the question. Acton was by this time in Parliament, as a supporter of the Liberal Party, and the Liberal Government was believed to be opposed to the Pope's claim to win back the territory which had been taken from him. Manning now invited Acton to a long private interview, in which he informed him that Cardinal Antonelli had, with the Pope's cognisance, written a formal letter which held the *Rambler* responsible for the fact that Catholic members of Parliament had supported the Liberal Government. A censure of the review from Rome itself was consequently imminent, and Manning had desired Acton to leave the review at once, in order to escape being involved in the condemnation. Acton turned at once to Newman for his advice; and while Newman considered that Cardinal Antonelli was exercising an unjustifiable interference, he thought that Simpson's editorship of the review had created an impossible situation, and that Acton ought to allow the *Rambler* to go out of existence. On the other hand, Newman sympathised fully with

Acton's indignation, and he was determined at all costs to resist any attempt to stampede Catholics in England into accepting the temporal power as a dogmatic question. An immediately practical anxiety arose at once; for Newman had allowed his name to appear among the members of a newly-formed "Academia of the Catholic Religion," which Wiseman had recently established as a means of uniting loyal Catholic writers. Newman had read with grave apprehension the inaugural address delivered by Cardinal Wiseman; and after considering the matter closely he now sent word deliberately to Manning that if the cardinal were to issue any further statements of the same kind in relation to the temporal power, he would "certainly not remain a member of the Academia."

Once again Newman had incurred the suspicion of the authorities, and his action now was to be remembered against him long afterwards. He had at any rate done his best to persuade Simpson and Acton to discontinue the *Rambler*. But they declined to follow his advice. Its November issue even contained an article deliberately challenging Manning's extreme advocacy of the temporal power; and the formal condemnation of the *Rambler* was now inevitable. Its editors realised the necessity for immediate action, and they decided at once to suspend publication of the *Rambler* and to replace it with a new quarterly called *The Home and Foreign Review*. Manning was convinced that Newman had not only advised this elusive method of escape, but had been personally concerned in the article which attacked his own attitude on the temporal power. The facts were quite otherwise. But once the new periodical was launched, Newman once more responded to the appeal by Acton, as its editor, to lend the assistance of his scholarship and his counsel. He exercised all the

ingenuity of his subtle mind to find some means of disarming suspicion while preserving the liberty of criticism which he held to be essential. But Acton was incapable of that complete and generous submission to authority which characterised Newman, and after two issues of *The Home and Foreign Review* had appeared, the whole hierarchy, in October 1862, issued a public censure upon it in their pastorals. Newman dissociated himself from the review at once; but when Wiseman appointed W. G. Ward to edit the *Dublin Review*, Newman declined to accept his invitation to become a contributor. For the time being it seemed as though even the Catholic reviews were to be debarred to him, in the long and growing series of his disappointments.

Disheartened, and aware that a cloud of suspicion now hovered over all his writings, Newman faced the year that followed with deepening sadness and resignation. But at last the supreme opportunity of his life as a controversialist came to him quite unexpectedly at the beginning of 1864, when his attention was called to a review of J. A. Froude's *History of England*, which Charles Kingsley had written for *Macmillan's Magazine*. In the course of his unsigned review Kingsley had said, quite gratuitously, that "truth for its own sake had never been a virtue with the Roman clergy. Father Newman informs us that it need not be, and on the whole ought not to be; that cunning is the weapon which Heaven has given to the saints wherewith to withstand the brute male force of the wicked world which marries and is given in marriage. Whether his notion be doctrinally correct or not, it is at least historically so." Newman, not knowing yet who had written the review, wrote at once to the publishers merely "to draw their attention as gentlemen to a grave and gratuitous slander." His protest was passed on to

Kingsley, who replied personally to Newman, referring him particularly to one of his sermons which was published in 1844 ; and declaring that he would be " most happy, on your showing to me that I have wronged you, to retract my accusation as publicly as I have made it." Newman replied, pointing out that the sermon contained nothing which could be construed to support the accusation Kingsley had made, and also that it had been, in any case, delivered before he became a Catholic. Kingsley thereupon offered to publish a carefully worded apology, which in effect insinuated that Newman was capable of explaining away any language he might have used. Newman refused to accept an apology which only aggravated the first insult, and published the entire correspondence, with an ironical commentary which showed his incomparable dexterity as a controversialist.

Newman had expected that public opinion would, as usual, be entirely unsympathetic towards any Catholic, and particularly himself. But his argument with Kingsley had attracted the notice of R. H. Hutton, the editor of *The Spectator*, who commented upon it in terms so derogatory to Kingsley's argument that Kingsley immediately issued a pamphlet entitled " What then does Dr. Newman mean ? " This again provoked further comment from Hutton in *The Spectator*, from whom Newman had never expected any sympathy. Hutton declared that Kingsley's pamphlet " aggravated the original injustice a hundredfold," and expressed such strong sympathy with Newman, on his own part as a man who regarded the Catholic Church with profound dislike, that Newman suddenly realised that at last he had found an opportunity to gain a public hearing for a clear statement of his own opinions. He determined to answer Kingsley in detail while

public sympathy was still on his side ; and after discarding his first idea of a series of public lectures, he decided to publish in weekly instalments a full account of his own conversion and beliefs. Such was the origin of the *Apologia*—the most famous and most widely read of his writings. The first two instalments appeared in the last weeks of April ; and in sections of increasing length the publication continued for several months. He worked at it with almost incredible persistency and sustained effort. One day he wrote for sixteen hours ; another " for twenty-two hours running." He was utterly exhausted when the Appendix was at last finished and published at the end of June.

But the success of the *Apologia* was instantaneous, and it not only raised Newman's personal influence to unprecedented heights in England generally, but completely restored the shaken confidence with which he had been regarded by Catholics since his return from Dublin. Not for thirteen years—since his lectures on " The Present Position of English Catholics," which resulted in the Achilli trial—had he allowed himself to exercise his almost unrivalled power of arousing public excitement by the display of his literary genius. *The Times*, as well as *The Saturday Review*, joined with *The Spectator* in applauding Newman's virile castigation of the popular writer who had slandered him. Even those who rallied in support of Kingsley had to admit that there had been gross and unjustifiable provocation, and that Newman's reply had excited an " almost unparalleled interest." But what mattered to him most personally was the overwhelming evidence it brought to him of complete confidence and affection from the bishops, the clergy, and the whole Catholic body.

CHAPTER XI

MANNING AS ARCHBISHOP

Bitter disappointment and a series of personal conflicts, with those upon whom he had counted for unqualified support in his programme of reviving Catholicism in England, had cast a deepening gloom over Wiseman's last years ; and the sufferings of his acutely sensitive temperament undoubtedly hastened his death in 1865. But although his immediate plans had been thwarted to an extent which broke his spirit, the achievements of his twenty years' activity in England were prodigious. The hierarchy had been not only restored, but securely and successfully established. Ullathorne, who was by no means always prejudiced in his favour, has left on record his own conviction regarding the first synod at Oscott, that " certainly no one but Cardinal Wiseman, who concentrated his whole capacious mind upon it in one of his happiest moods, could have brought it to so successful an issue, or have given it so great an amount of ecclesiastical splendour." And although friction had followed quickly, and the first years of the hierarchy had produced so much intense misunderstanding and conflict, and particularly in regard to Wiseman's personal attitude towards the Oxford converts, the new hierarchy had come to life under his inspiration and through his own activities, and its work was extending with marvellous energy and success.

He had done more than any Catholic for centuries

to capture the affections and the real respect of the English people for the cause which he represented. The tributes paid by many newspapers to his abilities and his virtues after his death are extraordinary to read. The scenes at his funeral revealed the extent of his prestige and personal popularity, to the amazement of those who still remembered vividly the fierce outburst of indignation that had been provoked by his first pastoral as Archbishop of Westminster less than fifteen years before. " Not since the State funeral of the late Duke of Wellington," declared *The Times*, " has the same interest been evinced to behold what it was thought would be the superb religious pageant of yesterday. At least three-fourths of the shops along the line of route were closed, and streets were lined with spectators, and every window and balcony thronged. Altogether the feeling among the public seemed deeper than one of mere curiosity, in a wish perhaps to forget old differences with the cardinal and to render respect to his memory as an eminent Englishman and one of the most learned men of his time." In a descriptive report which filled three columns, *The Times* described how " every window was crammed, every balcony, housetop, and even the roofs of churches were occupied. Those thousands, and even hundreds of thousands, waited patiently throughout the day." The attendance at the Requiem Mass was no less impressive. Lord Campbell, whose father—as Lord Chancellor—had fulminated so furiously against Wiseman in his speech at the Guildhall banquet, was present, as well as Lord Malmesbury and the Duke and Duchess of Sutherland, in addition to representatives from all the Catholic embassies, while the entire hierarchy assisted in state.

Above all, the dream of his life's work in England was symbolised by the fact that one of the converts

whom he had so encouraged, and for whom he had marked out great positions in the development of the Church, delivered his panegyric—as provost of the Chapter—in a sermon of remarkable eloquence which laid due emphasis upon the central object of his life in labouring for the conversion of England. "Many good and prudent men," declared Provost Manning, after reviewing the stages of his early life which had trained him for his achievements in England, "looked at the same horizon, and saw no signs, no harbinger of the morrow. They treated the Bishop of Melipotamus as sanguine and visionary, one whom hope had distempered. They saw nothing in England but the hard surface of the earth seared by the old storms of religious controversy which had furrowed the land. He saw beneath the surface, and discerned the delicate and vivid lines of new habits of thought, new aspirations after an inheritance which had been forfeited. . . . In these last days I have read again and again such words as these: 'Great beginnings, doomed to a great disappointment. Lofty undertakings, and, it must be confessed, closed by a signal failure.' Not so fast, men of this world; not so lordly and confident, wise and prudent of the earth. The ploughing of December may be drenched with the rains of January, and the February snows hide all things from the eyes of men. But the sweat of the ploughman and of the sower is not in vain. . . . The conversion of England! Do men think that we expect the twenty millions of Englishmen to lie down Protestants at night and to wake up Catholics in the morning? Do they so little know the calm wisdom of the illustrious dead who lies here, the centre of our veneration and of our love, as to think he was such a dreamer of day-dreams, so unreal and fantastic in his hopes? He was a believer like one who for a

hundred and twenty years built the ark ; and a hoper like him who all alone entered imperial Rome, a simple fisherman, but the vicar of the Son of God. Such were his expectations ; and when he closed his eyes upon England, he had already seen the work he had begun expanding everywhere, and the traditions of three hundred years everywhere dissolving before it."

The work which he had commenced was, in fact, to be carried on—as he had himself, however dimly, foreseen—by the converts for whom he had said, years before, that the old Catholics like himself must be ready to make way. Manning, the most recent of them, was, in fact, to be his own successor as Archbishop of Westminster ; and for a generation the two names of Newman and Manning were to dominate the history of the Catholic revival. It was one of the last wishes expressed by the dead cardinal that Manning should preach the panegyric at his funeral. But he had decided against any further intervention in regard to his own succession, and he told the Chapter to choose for themselves " that name that you consider most fit and worthy to fill this high office." The Chapter were still profoundly convinced that they were under obligation to vindicate the honour and the impugned character of Errington ; and Mgr. Searle, who, although he was Wiseman's secretary, had sided unreservedly with Errington throughout, now took the precaution of asking Errington direct whether he would be willing to let his name go forward. It had been suggested that the Holy See " would consider it an insult." Errington, who had gone to Ireland, wrote back in an uncompromising spirit : " There cannot be supposed any insult in sending my name in the ordinary form, when the reason no longer exists for which the Holy See did not judge it expedient that I should be at

Westminster." Grant, however, considered that Rome should be consulted first. But the Chapter refused to heed all warnings, holding that Wiseman's death had removed the cause of friction which had led to Errington's supersession. They sent forward Errington's name at the head of the list of three, with Bishop Clifford second and Bishop Grant third; and when the names had been sent, Grant wrote to Bishop Clifford to say that they could between them do more to help Errington than anyone else, and suggesting that they should both withdraw their names to strengthen his claims to nomination.

Manning himself had good reason to know that, if Errington were appointed, his own influence at Westminster would be completely ended, and that even his oblates would have to face precarious years. He was obliged as provost to send forward the list which the Chapter had chosen at the meeting over which he presided; and he awaited developments in a resigned expectation of having to fall into the background. He himself urged upon Talbot the name of Bishop Ullathorne, "whom I believe in the sight of God to be the most attached to Rome and to have the most love of souls." Newman's name was, in fact, proposed among others in Rome, but Manning's name was never suggested from any other source than Talbot. He felt himself bound by secrecy not even to communicate to Talbot the secret decisions of the Chapter, but he wrote bitterly, in anticipation of what might follow if they had their way: "If the Holy See hesitates we shall be in great peril of losing half the ground the cardinal has won for the Church in England. I could not help looking at the majority of the Chapter to-day and asking myself what one thing have these men done for the Church in all these years? And when have

they not crossed everything the cardinal has done ? " There was no need, however, for Manning to use such terms in an effort to discredit the verdict of the Chapter. The list came to the Pope as a deliberate affront. " He rose from his chair," wrote Bishop Neve, " said it would be an insult to him, said then *so faccio Pio Nono*, and that he would disregard the paper." The Pope was so much disturbed that Cardinal Barnabo, the Secretary of State, had to call in the assistance of other cardinals to mollify him. The Chapter had completely stultified their own desires. Whoever was to succeed Cardinal Wiseman, none of the three names they had suggested now stood the remotest chance.

For weeks the expectancy became more intense, while it was known that the Pope had decided to reserve the nomination entirely to his own judgment, and he spent days in prayer. Errington's candidature was completely ruled out, even though his friends had succeeded in mobilising Cardinal Cullen to write a letter in his support. There was no personal ill-feeling or resentment against Errington, but the Pope had pronounced that he was unsuitable for Westminster, and he was not prepared to reconsider his decision. Finally, to the consternation of the Chapter, who had begun to dread any possibility, as the sequel to their own misguided defiance, the staggering news arrived that the Pope had appointed Manning. No one was more overwhelmed by the news than Manning himself. But he faced his invidious position without a moment's hesitation, and the old Catholics bowed in submission with an unqualified loyalty to the Pope's decision. " The old Catholics of England," wrote Manning himself to Mary Wilberforce, " have shown me a charity which shows how little *The Times* knows " ; for *The Times* had spoken of him slightingly as " an

aspiring refugee." He set himself immediately to win the confidence of the Chapter who had fought with him so bitterly hitherto. One after another, as they were confirmed in their positions or given provision for their old age, they gave expression, as time passed, to their profound appreciation of his integrity and his real charity. And although it was thought more tactful not to invite Errington to the celebrations, the other two defeated candidates assisted Bishop Ullathorne in consecrating the new archbishop in June at the pro-cathedral in Moorfields.

From the very outset he concentrated, as his most urgent task, upon the reclamation of Catholic children from the Protestant schools. He refused all appeals to raise money for other purposes, even when Mgr. Talbot promised that the Pope had agreed to head a subscription list for an English church in Rome. " I have been content with my Old Sarum and my Selsey," he declared. " The days of Salisbury and Chichester are to come." The question of building a great church arose almost immediately after his consecration, when a committee of prominent Catholics was formed to decide upon the most suitable memorial to Cardinal Wiseman. Opinion was strongly in favour of building a cathedral in Westminster, and Manning was expected to give his name to the project at once. But he would consent only to buy the site, and he told the meeting, in a long speech, that he regarded the school-less children as the first charge on his resources. " I hope I have kept my word," he wrote in his journal long afterwards, " for I bought the land which the builders . . . never thought of, and some thousands are given and others left for the building. But could I leave 20,000 children without education and drain my friends and my flock to pile up stones and bricks ? The work

of the poor children may be said to be done. We have nearly doubled the number in schools, and there is school-room for all; and about 8000 have been saved from apostasy and from the streets. . . . My successor may begin to build the cathedral. I have often said the cardinal's death bought the land; perhaps mine will begin the building."

A year after his consecration, Manning summoned the first Catholic meeting to form the Westminster Diocesan Fund for the poor children's schools. "It is strange I cannot get some men to believe in their existence," he had written to Mgr. Talbot a few weeks earlier. "Oakeley throws cold water on everything, and knows less of the state of London than almost any man, and after having said that all our Catholic children are in school, now admits that there are 12,000 without education. I am sure there are 20,000, but I will work with 12,000, which is sad and bad enough." The meeting surpassed Manning's hopes, and before it every post had brought in subscriptions. Nearly £6000 in donations and annual subscriptions had been guaranteed on the first day. The work was well started and has since grown to much larger dimensions, and has been the means of saving hundreds of thousands of Catholic children from losing all contact with the Church. The next great object to be undertaken was the provision of a seminary for the archdiocese; and in 1869 he transformed the Benedictine convent at Hammersmith into a seminary for his ecclesiastical students. Twenty years afterwards he wrote in retrospect: "When I began to work as a priest, the first work was the congregation of the oblates, and of this the first result was St. Charles's College. The congregation has about twelve schools with about 1300 children and two colleges, a lesser, St. Michael's, and

a greater, St. Charles's. Then as soon as I had my present office the Westminster Diocesan Fund was formed with its annual meeting, and the work of the poor children ; 14,200 have passed through our hands, 3000 are always in education in our twenty-two diocesan schools and orphanages. Then, finally, came St. Thomas's Seminary—I hope I have not withdrawn my hand from the plough."

He had already been foiled during Wiseman's lifetime in his efforts to reorganise St. Edmund's College at Ware, where he had introduced his oblates. His action had aroused Errington's fierce distrust. Now, ten years later, he undertook the reorganisation of the English College at Rome. His opinion of the average of the English clergy was still low ; and he was determined, notwithstanding their natural resentment towards his interference as a convert, to improve the standard. " I can't tell you the dearth of men above the average," he wrote to Mgr. Talbot, " or out of the line of routine in this diocese, indeed in England generally. Good, zealous, faithful, unworldly as our priests are, their formation has not lifted them above the old level. We are rapidly coming in contact with public opinion and with society in such a way as to make a new race of men absolutely necessary." Talbot at first proposed handing the college over to Jesuit direction, not knowing Manning's increasing dislike of the Society of Jesus. Manning parried the suggestion and Talbot was able to secure, without informing the archbishop beforehand, the appointment of one of Manning's oblates, Father O'Callaghan, as Rector on the resignation of Dr. Neve. The appointment of an oblate, who was also an Irishman, was far from being welcome to the English bishops, and before long murmurs were heard on all sides. Manning found it necessary to

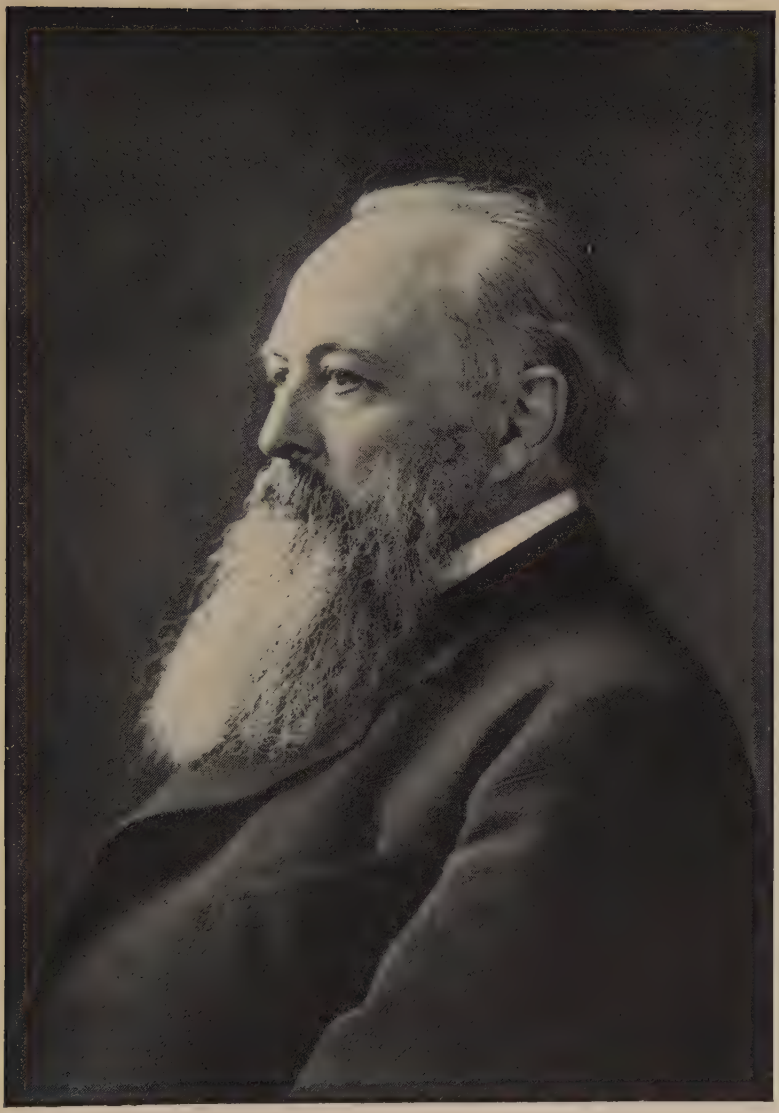
write urgently to Talbot to obtain a formal statement from Rome as to the reasons for the change. Manning had been working unceasingly to heal old sores and to establish cordial relations with the other bishops. The affair of the English College in Rome now brought to a crisis the undercurrent of discontent which had been gradually gathering force. " The amount of murmuring here is endless," Manning wrote to Talbot; " not on this subject only, but on everything. I add, in strict confidence, that the centre of it is at Birmingham. Everything runs to this point—the Oxford question, Newman, Ward, the *Dublin Review*, English College, you, me, everything. The restless nature of that mind is reproducing what harassed the last years of the cardinal."

The " restless mind " was that of Bishop Ullathorne, whom Manning had recommended so strongly for the archbishopric which he now held himself. There was a profound antipathy between these two strong-minded prelates, whose natural inclinations were yet so similar. Ullathorne in his earlier days had taken an active part in public affairs, which from its results was even more important than Manning's own intervention on behalf of the London dockers in the strike of 1887. A Yorkshire Catholic, who had joined the Benedictines as a boy, Ullathorne went out as a young missionary to Australia, and was soon compelled to undertake, almost single-handed, the religious care of the convicts. He found that they were practically employed as slaves by the planters, and that their punitive treatment and moral degradation were indescribably shameful Among them was a large number of Irish Catholics who were exiled for their part in the Irish rebellion after the famine. Ullathorne had found the proportion of Catholics among the convict population extremely

large ; but inhuman treatment, and the savage system under which they were forced to live, had converted the great majority of the convicts into a drink-sodden and barbarously immoral population. Ullathorne was one of the first to plead for a reform of their conditions, and he incurred the fierce hostility of the planters and traders who depended upon convict labour. His published accounts of the conditions which he spent his life in trying to mitigate by religious ministrations created such scandal in England that he was brought home to give evidence before a Parliamentary inquiry ; and as a very young priest he had to bear single-handed almost the entire brunt of an agitation which aroused passionate feelings on both sides. But his pleading was so forceful that he carried his point, and the abolition of the convict settlements in Australia was directly due to him. Before the hierarchy was restored he had been appointed Vicar-Apostolic of the Midland District, and he became Bishop of Birmingham when the hierarchy was established in 1850.

As Bishop of Birmingham Ullathorne had Newman's oratory immediately under his supervision, and an intimate friendship between him and Newman gradually developed after the first difficult years had been passed. His own temperament was extremely pugnacious, and Manning constantly irritated him. Personal irritation towards Manning contributed considerably to his taking Newman's side in the antagonism which had been steadily growing between the two great convert clergymen, and by 1867 various causes had accentuated it still further. Manning had been given charge of the *Dublin Review* by Wiseman several years before his death, and he had appointed W. G. Ward to edit it, very largely with a view to using it for propaganda in favour of the temporal power of the Pope. Ward

held such extreme views about the temporal power, and still more about Papal infallibility, that his writings forced the more Liberal critics like Acton—and also the majority of the old Catholics, who had always felt a certain distrust towards Rome—into replying in their own organs with more emphasis than they might otherwise have used. And Newman, who disliked Manning's high-handed methods and regarded his views about the Papacy as being wildly extravagant, felt a growing sympathy with the reaction which Ward provoked in Acton and the Liberals. The Jesuits in the *Month* were constantly criticising the excesses of Ward's ultramontane zeal, and the *Tablet* particularly laid itself out to attack the opinions of Manning's *Dublin Review*. In a letter to Talbot in March, within the first year of his consecration, Manning had complained bitterly of the *Tablet's* attacks. Archbishop Cullen, he said, had declared the *Tablet* to be a " chief difficulty in uniting the English and Irish bishops." " It has been attacking the Archbishop of Cashel, and it has been covertly writing against me," Manning complained. " Mr. Willis Ryley Swift and one or two more of the Stafford Club assume to deal with Catholic questions, and to know better than anyone when public meetings are to be held, deputations sent to Government, etc., and if crossed, out come attacks in the *Tablet*. They are writing up Dr. Newman in a way so marked as to show their intention ; and they are helping the formation of an *English* party which will again divide the English and Irish Catholics, and the English Catholics among themselves. . . . We have only a feeble *lay* democracy, and a Stafford instead of Cisalpine Club. I have no fear ; but we shall have difficult and dangerous times, for our *good* men are so little alive to the principles which are at stake that they are



Lord Acton

carried away, and everything Roman is thought extravagant and Italian. And in this I grieve to think that Dr. Newman has thrown all his weight the wrong way. The *Home and Foreign* School and the Union are both using his name."

The *Tablet* did not long continue to disturb Manning's peace. Its financial difficulties necessitated its sale, and in 1868 Manning acquired it and so became possessed of two Catholic reviews to conduct his propaganda. Two years later these growing storms were to come to a head with extraordinary force. The Vatican Council assembled in Rome to discuss the question of the proposed formal decree of Papal infallibility, and in the feverish weeks during which it lasted, Manning played so decisive a part that its actual result might even have been prevented if it had not been for his tireless and determined energy. It was his personal intervention with Odo Russell, the British diplomatic agent in Rome, that frustrated the attempt which Dr. Döllinger had made, through the influence of the King of Bavaria, to form a political alliance between the States which opposed the decree. Manning's intellectual powers, scarcely less than his energy, became a decisive factor in Rome during the Council ; and by his intimate alliance with Odo Russell and his personal relations with the Pope he was able to exert a diplomatic influence perhaps greater than that of any other member of the Council. But the drama was made infinitely more intense by the fact that Döllinger was being supported in Rome from day to day with the enormously powerful assistance of Sir John Acton, who brought to the opposition a vast fund of historical and theological erudition and the supremely important reinforcement of his close personal alliance with Gladstone. Throughout the Council, these two Englishmen, Manning and

Acton, on opposing sides, worked night and day to defeat each other ; and only the diplomatic abilities of Manning succeeded in frustrating the great political influence which Acton was in a position to bring to bear.

And behind Acton, on what was called the Liberal-Catholic side, there was admittedly ranged the vast prestige of Newman, who had even been invited by Mgr. Dupanloup, the Bishop of Orleans, to assist him as the chief organiser of the opposition. Manning won what to English eyes seemed almost a personal victory, when the Council finally decided upon the decree of Papal infallibility. And after his return from Rome, acute trouble arose between him and Acton. He tried in vain to force Acton into a public recantation of his former disbelief in infallibility. The letters which were exchanged between the two men after the Council have since been published, with a luminous introduction by Cardinal Gasquet ; and they show with what relentless determination Manning was capable of pursuing even an individual, on a matter of conscience which was more subtle than he would ever admit. Only by the most skilful diplomacy, in sheltering behind the protection of his own bishop, was Acton able to persist in refusing to make the public profession which Manning required, while escaping a formal excommunication. Newman without hesitation bowed to the decision of the Council and admitted the fallibility of his own judgment in an open way which Acton was not prepared to imitate. And in a letter to the Duke of Norfolk he vindicated the character of English Catholics from the charges of civil disloyalty which were being thrown against them. But the differences between Manning and Newman on the subject were never forgotten. In 1875 the question arose again, when Gladstone pub-

lished his pamphlet on "Vaticanism and the Vatican Council"; and Manning replied to it with an elaborate answer which put an end to their early friendship for a time. He felt so strongly the imputation of disloyalty in Gladstone's pamphlet that when Gladstone invited Canon Oakeley as an old friend to come to one of his Thursday breakfasts, Manning told Oakeley that he would "regard it as a personal affront were any of his priests to visit Mr. Gladstone."

But while the conflicts and tense feeling aroused by the Vatican Council died down, the sense of friction arose again very soon after Manning's return from Rome, in his equally uncompromising attitude in forbidding Catholics to attend the older Universities. The question had arisen ten years before, and of late it had again gradually been forcing itself upon the attention of the bishops. Newman particularly had always been in strong sympathy with the proposal for establishing some sort of Catholic centre at Oxford, while encouraging Catholics to enter the University. He had learned long before, in his Anglican days, that the first essential preliminary to any constructive plan was to acquire a site before the plan became known. So he had bought land at Littlemore, with a vague idea of its being of possible use in the future, long before he decided to resign the rectorship of St. Mary's and to retire to his hermit's life. And with similar foresight in the last years of Wiseman's life he had bought land in Oxford, while others were talking of the possibility of founding a Catholic college. The fact caused intense annoyance and suspicion in Manning's mind; for Manning was determined at all costs to prevent any possibility of Newman himself being associated with any such enterprise at Oxford. Newman himself was well aware of the objections which Manning held, and he was prepared

to submit to Wiseman's decision. He realised that his personal prestige would inevitably attract many young Catholics of the higher classes to Oxford, just as it had induced so many families to send their boys to his school at Edgbaston. And in view of the objections by the bishops, he resolved to have no personal connection with any Catholic college at Oxford himself. But, on the main question, he was most strongly in favour of Catholics going to Oxford, for two reasons: first, that the Catholic gentry had no other means of obtaining a University education for their sons, so that the Catholic laity were prevented from holding their own in intellectual matters among their contemporaries; and secondly, because he saw that the Liberal agnostics were obtaining an undisputed ascendancy in the University which had formerly been such a centre of religious revival.

Manning, however, remained obdurate on the question until his death; and he had worked ceaselessly even before Wiseman's death to ensure that Rome supported his own view. He was convinced that the anti-Catholic atmosphere of Oxford and Cambridge would undermine the faith and loyalty of the Catholic gentry. The advantages to be gained by allowing them to go to the University seemed to him wholly inadequate to compensate for the dangers involved. Wiseman himself, in his courageous belief in the possibility of working miracles where the conversion of England was concerned, had been at first definitely in favour of a proposal to found a Catholic hall at Oxford, where young Catholic laymen would live and study together, and so obviate the objections to their being lost as a scattered handful of students in the other colleges. But Manning's opposition had prevailed against his first instinctive enthusiasm. He had insisted that the result

would be to weaken the faith of the young Catholics, while it could have no influence upon the overwhelmingly Protestant atmosphere and traditions of Oxford or Cambridge. Manning persuaded Wiseman to bring the matter before the bishops at their meeting in Low Week 1864, and a formal decision was taken to issue an explicit prohibition against Catholics going to the Universities. Manning's own view had been that a Catholic University must somehow be founded to provide an alternative to Oxford and Cambridge ; but the bishops decided, in view of Newman's failure in Dublin, that nothing of the kind was at present possible. In the meantime, however, a number of Catholic students had already come to the Universities and others were preparing to go there. Manning and Ward and several other prominent Catholics appealed to Rome for a clear prohibition on the matter ; and Bishop Ullathorne, who had been Newman's principal supporter in favour of introducing Catholic influences into Oxford, prepared to urge his own views in contradiction. Ullathorne appealed to Rome for permission to found a branch of the oratory in Oxford, and Manning at once mobilised Mgr. Talbot against him ; and almost the last act of Wiseman's life was to put a stop to Newman's plans.

But Ullathorne, in whose diocese Oxford lay, remained extremely desirous that, at any rate, a branch of the oratory should be established there ; even if Newman himself were to be debarred from having any hand in it. In 1866, the year after Manning had become Archbishop of Westminster, Ullathorne raised the matter again at Rome, and once more Manning invoked the services of Mgr. Talbot—who was to disappear from the Vatican after a mental breakdown in the following year. Manning was as utterly opposed as ever to the admission of Catholics to the Universities, and he was

particularly suspicious of Newman's influence. "We shall not have Cisalpinism again," he wrote to Talbot, "but we shall have Anglo-Catholicism and nominal Catholicism acclimatised to English society. But as yet the majority of our lay families are sound, and only need to know what is the mind and advice of the Holy See." Uncharitably, though not without some reason, he regarded the agitation in favour of University education as being insincere for the most part, except for the small proportion of "intellectuals" whom he described as the "Literary Vanities." "In truth, nobody cared for higher studies," he wrote, with bitterness and with exaggeration, in a note among his papers many years later. "Certain Catholic parents wished to get their sons into English society, and to have latch-keys to Grosvenor Square. Nevertheless, a great noise was made about the need of higher studies." In 1868 the question arose again, and Manning persuaded the bishops to adopt his own scheme for a Board of Examiners. The Vatican Council intervened, and the matter was left in abeyance for several years, until it was once again discussed at the Provincial Council of Westminster in 1873. Manning now felt that the question could not be left as it was, and he saw that the continuous pressure by the gentry, whose sons were forbidden the Universities, necessitated some sort of concession.

Had he been able to overcome his personal distrust of Newman, and had he invited him to resume in England the work which he had attempted under impossible conditions in Dublin, there can be little doubt that a Catholic University could have been founded with every prospect of gradual success. But its staff would have naturally been recruited largely from the Jesuits, as the ablest and most highly trained body of teachers in England; and Manning was, in fact, even more antago-

nistic to the Jesuits by this time than he was to Newman. The result of his prejudices was the most complete failure of his career, when he established a Catholic University College at Kensington from which both Newman and the Jesuits were deliberately excluded. So strong was his aversion to the Jesuits that he would not even allow Jesuit students to attend its lectures ; the future Father Bernard Vaughan was formally refused permission to attend. In place of Newman, whose influence and prestige would have attracted students from all parts of England and from other countries also, the Rectorship was entrusted with disastrous results to Mgr. Capel, a flamboyant and successful ecclesiastic who had not had a University education himself. Yet the staff of the college included St. George Mivart and C. S. Devas, among a group of extremely brilliant scholars ; and though its pupils never exceeded sixty in number, they included Mr. Wilfrid Ward, the son of Manning's most devoted admirer, and the future editor of the *Dublin Review*, whose work as the historian of the Oxford Movement and as the official biographer of Cardinal Wiseman and Cardinal Newman can never be too highly praised ; and also Abbot Butler, the historian and biographer of Bishop Ullathorne. The other bishops had given a formal approval to Manning's ill-considered scheme ; but they took no part in it. He felt that the responsibility was his own, and that its failure, and the enormous loss it involved, must rest on his own shoulders. But nothing was more tragic, in the long years of misunderstanding and mistrust between himself and Newman, than his refusal to allow Newman any part in the attempt to found a Catholic University at a time when it was most likely to succeed.

Newman himself was generally supposed to have refused to participate. The truth was that for years he

suffered agonies of humiliation and frustration in not being given scope to undertake the work that he felt he could have done, or in not receiving the support which was necessary for his success. " I have ever tried to act as *others* told me," he wrote to his friend, Father Whitty, as far back as 1865 ; " and if I have not done more, it has been because I have not been put to do more, or have been stopped when I attempted more. The cardinal (Wiseman) brought me from Littlemore to Oscott ; he sent me to Rome ; he stationed and left me in Birmingham. When the Holy Father wished me to begin the Dublin Catholic University, I did so at once. When the Synod of Oscott gave me to do the new translation of Scripture, I began it without a word. When the cardinal asked me to interfere in the matter of the *Rambler*, I took on myself, to my sore disgust, a great trouble and trial. Lastly, when my bishop, *proprio motu*, asked me to undertake the mission of Oxford, I at once commited myself to a very expensive purchase of land and began, as he wished me, to collect money for a church. In all these matters I think (in spite of many incidental mistakes) I should, on the whole, have done work, had I been allowed or aided to go on with them ; but it has been God's blessed will that I should have been stopped. If I could get out of my mind the notion that I could do something and am *not* doing it, nothing could have been happier, more peaceful, or more to my taste, than the life I lead."

CHAPTER XII

MANNING AND THE DEMOCRACY

By the time that Manning had succeeded to the Archbishopric of Westminster, the Irish element in the Catholic population had become so predominant, numerically, that he himself never ceased to think of the Catholic Church in England as having, in his own time at any rate, primarily an Irish character. In the very last entry in his diary, for 9th November 1890, he was to write : " I remember how often I have said that my chief sacrifice in becoming Catholic was ' that I ceased to work for the people of England and had henceforward to work for the Irish occupation of England.' Strangely, all this is reversed. If I had not become Catholic I could never have worked for the people of England, as in the last year they think I have worked for them. Anglicanism would have fettered me. The liberty of truth and of the Church has lifted me above all dependence or limitations. This seems like the latter end of Job, greater than the beginning. I hope it is not the condemnation when all men speak well of me." With that last entry his diary concludes for ever, though he lived for two years more. It expresses with singular vividness the fusion of so many influences which had acted both upon his own life and upon the growth of the Church in England. He said once, "Were I not Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, I would wish to be a great demagogue." Only as a convert to Catholicism had he found that freedom to serve and

to lead the people which had always been his ambition. And it was through his direct contact above all with the Irish poor that he had found the means of serving the people of England.

In a letter to the Duchess of Buccleuch in 1869, he had written with complete frankness: "I am Radical and Irish, but always after the manner and measure of St. Gregory VII. Do not fight for me. Let me be beaten. My Radicalism I learned of Moses and of St. Paul, and I may say my politics are summed up in the words 'I have compassion on the multitude, for they have nothing to eat.' Now there is a confession for you." He was a strong democrat by instinct, in spite of his own upbringing as the son of a Governor of the Bank of England. In 1872 he had made his first dramatic incursion into democratic politics as archbishop, when he appeared at the Exeter Hall to support the agricultural labourers. To Gladstone, who wrote to express surprise at his action, he replied: "I remember your saying to me many years ago that the next conflict would be between the masters and the workmen. I had been so much out of England then that I did not know how far this reached. I found last week that even my Irish hodmen are organised. I have also lately had means of knowing what the agricultural unionists are. As yet they are not political. They do not coalesce with the London men, but the London men will soon make capital of them if others do not interpose. The consequence of this would be disastrous. My belief is that some energetic and sympathetic act on the part of the Government would avert great dangers. Could not a Royal Commission be issued to take the evidence of men who are now appealing to public opinion for help? If they have a case it could be dealt with. If they have none, it would be exposed."

Very soon afterwards he was again urging Gladstone to similar courses, while stating his own definitely Radical views. "My belief," he wrote, "is that the laws (of landed property) must be greatly relaxed. The Poor Law has saved them for a century. But the Poor Law has broken down. Why cannot you do these things for the labourer? Prohibit the labour of children under a certain age. Compel payment of wages in money. Regulate the number of dwellings according to the population of parishes. Establish tribunals of arbitration in counties for questions between labour and land. If our unions were like the guilds which created the city of London, I should not fear them. But the *soul* is not there." Two years later he was telling the mechanics in Leeds that "I claim for labour, and the skill which is always acquired by labour, the rights of capital. It is capital in the truest sense." He not only encouraged Arch, as the pioneer of the Agricultural Labourers' Union, but subscribed to its funds openly; and Arch spoke of him afterwards with gratitude as a man "who stood up for us. The testimony at such a time and in such a place of a man so respected was of the greatest value to the union." He became a friend, though by no means a disciple, of Henry George; and among those who sent wreaths to his funeral in the end was the founder of the Irish Land League, Michael Davitt. His democratic sympathies had been apparent even in his Anglican days, and at Westminster he became the intimate friend of many Radical reformers. His friendship with Sir Charles Dilke remained unshaken by the scandal of the divorce case which drove Dilke into retirement, and Manning was one of those who consistently believed in Dilke's innocence.

Of the social reformers with whom he formed an intimate alliance, his friendship with W. T. Stead was

the most remarkable. Stead was an eminently typical Nonconformist from the north of England who had grown up with an inherited hatred of the Catholic Church such as would have satisfied any of the Cromwellian Puritans. But Manning's dramatic activities as the friend of the down-trodden working-classes captured Stead's imagination long before he came to London; and in his first years as a London journalist under John Morley on the *Pall Mall Gazette*, Stead had been compelled to recognise in the austere cardinal at Westminster one of the most dynamic social reformers in the country. When they became acquainted, Manning became so completely the object of Stead's hero-worship that he wished to include the cardinal in the small supreme council of a secret society—formed on the model of the Society of Jesus as founded by St. Ignatius! —for the promotion of the British Empire, which was to be controlled chiefly by Cecil Rhodes and Lord Rothschild. Manning regarded his devoted admirer with affectionate amusement, and gave him very considerable encouragement. When Stead undertook to expose the white-slave traffic, by his famous series of articles on "The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon," and actually abducted a poor girl to prove how easily it could be done, Manning was consulted beforehand and gave his approval to the campaign. When Stead was tried in consequence for a criminal offence, Manning gave evidence for him in court, and he wrote him letters of warm appreciation while he was in prison. And afterwards, when Stead went to Rome to write his book about the Vatican, Manning provided him with introductions, and after his return, revised the proofs of his articles before they were published. When Stead sent a copy of them in book form to Manning, he accompanied it with a covering letter which expressed the

extraordinary effect that Manning's personality had produced upon his own attitude towards the Catholic Church. "I send you herewith," he wrote, "my book, *The Pope and the New Era*, which may be said to owe its being to you. For that there could be any relations between the Pope and the new era excepting those of war to the knife is an idea which would never have gained possession of the popular mind but for your life work."

Stead was himself so characteristic of the more generous and half-educated public who watched the philanthropic activities of Cardinal Manning with amazement and growing sympathy for his Church that it is well to recall one vivid description from Stead's writing which records his own first impressions of the cardinal. "How well I remember the day on which I first saw Cardinal Manning!" he wrote. "He was a kind of legendary figure to me. Cardinal Grandison in *Lothair* was quite as real to me as the actual Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. At last the time came when I saw him. . . . The annual meeting of the Metropolitan Association for befriending Young Servants was being held in Stafford House, and the cardinal was present. It was a scene not to be soon forgotten. The representatives of all the philanthropies met at the foot of the staircase of that stately hall to listen to a plea for the little slaveys of London from the lips of the Roman cardinal and prince of the Church. When Cardinal Manning rose to speak, I was almost aghast at the extreme fleshlessness of his features. His tall form, erect and slender as a spear, showed to great effect above the throng that gathered around the statues at the foot of the stairs. I remember no other speaker. I only see the marble and the cardinal. He spoke with feeling and tenderness, born of evident sympathy for the hard-

worked, overdriven little serving-maids of this great city. There was no passion save compassion ; he spoke quietly and tenderly, and beyond the drift and tone of his remarks I remember nothing. What impressed me more, and what, I suppose, impresses most of us when we see the cardinal for the first time, was the extreme bloodlessness of the emaciated face. It was as if wrinkled parchment was stretched across a fleshless skull, out of which, however, kindly blue eyes gleamed brightly, while a pleasant smile gave life and human fervour to the features of the ascetic."

To Manning, the recognition of the rights of labour was the supreme problem of public life ; and when his old friend Pius IX died, and a new Pope was elected, he found in Leo XIII a Pontiff who faced the modern world with a sympathy which was most remarkably similar to his own. Mr. Shane Leslie, in his biography, attributes a direct influence upon Leo XIII's social doctrine to the English archbishop, and even states emphatically that Leo's encyclicals on labour were prompted by direct action on Manning's part. He quotes a letter from the future Cardinal Vaughan, who reported in 1880 that Cardinal Bilio had recently said : " ' The Pope was telling me that ' this last encyclical (against slavery) is Manning's. It was he who put the idea into my head to do something for the slaves. He is a man *di vaste vedute*, and his conversation is full of suggestion. I have written this encyclical in consequence of my conversation with him.' " And still more remarkable is the letter from Leo XIII to Manning in January 1891, expressing intimate sympathy with Manning's devotion to justice for Ireland and to the rights of the working-classes. " Not more pleasing," wrote the Pope, " is the pacified state of public affairs which you mention, and that the nations enjoy the ever-to-be-

prayed-for peace and tranquillity. Our foremost desire and prayer to God is that it should come to Ireland, too long given over to unmerited calamities. It is not unknown to you, dear son, how anxious we are made by the fortunes of that race. No less is the care which touches you as to the condition of working-men. We are engaged in the consideration of each matter, and as soon as we are able to, we will take pains that neither our duty nor our charity are lacking to either cause."

The project so outlined was nothing less than the great encyclical *Rerum Novarum*, which has since given its inspiration to the whole modern Catholic social movement. Word was sent specially to Manning from Rome, through Archbishop Walsh of Dublin, that a first-rate English translation must be prepared. Months were spent on the translation, which was undertaken by the Bishop of Newport. It was revised by Manning himself, who insisted on using the word "strike" plainly instead of any vaguer term. The friendship of Manning with the labour leaders ensured their watching the Pope's encyclical with close attention, and the effect it produced among English trade unionists may be gathered from a letter written to him by Ben Tillett in June 1891: "I have just been reading the Pope's letter—a very courageous one indeed, one that will test good Catholics much more effectively than any exhortation to religious worship. As you know, some of us would disagree very strongly with many of the strictures laid upon Socialists. These are minor matters. The Catholic sympathy abounds in a generous strength. I hardly think our Protestant prelates would dare utter such wholesome doctrine."

Manning's friendship with Ben Tillett was the result of the most spectacular triumph of all Manning's interventions in public affairs, which had taken place three

years before the *Rerum Novarum* encyclical was published. Manning was no believer in Socialism in any form, but he held that if the other parties would not attend adequately to the crying needs of the workers, Socialism must be expected to capture them. " The combination of Socialists and the outcast population," he wrote to W. T. Stead—after the rioting and bloodshed in Trafalgar Square in 1887, which after nearly half a century is still remembered as " Bloody Sunday "—" which is our rebuke, sin, shame, scandal, and will be our scourge, is a misrepresentation of law and liberty and justice. The appeal to physical force is criminal and immoral—venial in men maddened by suffering, but inexcusable in others." His whole sympathies were with the dockers, as the most important class of casual labourers, in their struggle for a living wage. He was so prejudiced against the employers when he entered upon the controversy over the dock strike of 1889, that he believed them to be earning large profits, whereas two of the principal firms were in a precarious condition. " The only practical scheme," he wrote to Sir Samuel Bolton, " would be in the apportionment of wages to the employers' profits, subject to periodical supervision. Sliding scales and bonus are sure to get out of gear." He was convinced that the employers' refusal to adopt such a plan " implied fear and suspicion —something to hide, *i.e.* disproportioned gains." When the great dock strike had broken out, Manning wrote a letter to *The Times*, propounding what it described as the " wild proposition " that every man had the right to work and eat. When he was answered by the statistician, Sir Thomas Giffen, he replied indignantly : " Theories of gradual accumulation of surplus will not feed hungry men, women and children, and hunger cannot be sent to Jupiter or to Saturn. I would ask what number of

years may be required to raise the level of surplus and employment over the surface of the country ? "

To the labour leaders, this courageous intervention by the old cardinal-archbishop, already in his eighty-second year, brought an encouragement for which they had never hoped. They came to him as to a father for guidance and in all humility. To Tom Mann he wrote uncompromisingly his own view that " the public authorities ought to find work for those who want work or relief for those who cannot." And to Ben Tillett : " How can any man hinder or discourage the giving of food or help ? Why is the house called a *work*house ? Because it is for those who cannot work ? No, because it was the house to give work or bread. The very name is an argument. I am very sure what our Lord and His Apostles would do if they were in London." Tom Mann has left on record his own recollections of Manning's sympathy and help during those desperate weeks of hunger and determined resistance. " I shall ever remember him as the finest example of genuine devotion to the downtrodden. He was never too busy to be consulted, or too occupied with Church affairs to admit of his giving detailed attention to any group of men whom kindly influence could help, and he was equally keen to understand any plans of ours to improve the lot of these men." And Tillett, upon whose impetuous spirit Manning had impressed that an agitator's life must include " a cross as well as a crown," has told : " How it burned and singed my nature and called out of the depths the primitive courage and so the persistence which helped me in the formation of the Gasworkers' Union ! "

The pay of the dockers, up to the time of their strike in August, had been fivepence an hour, and they had made up their minds to demand the extra penny

which would make what became known as the "dockers' tanner." On 30th August they sent their first emissary to Manning. When the butler asked whether she came about "religion," and was told that it was "politics," he could only answer, after a long reflection: "The cardinal isn't as young as he was." "Half an hour later," says the emissary, Miss Harkness, "I saw Cardinal Manning. Then I went away to fetch a list of the dock directors. When I came back he was saying Mass. After that I had the satisfaction of seeing him drive off in his carriage to the city." Manning tried unsuccessfully to find both the Lord Mayor and the Home Secretary, but they were both away on their summer holidays. Nothing remained that he could do except to go direct to the dock owners. The only pretext he could put forward for claiming to intervene was that his brother had formerly been a chairman of the docks. The directors resented his intrusion, but they agreed to listen to his pleading at Dock House. To the strikers' delegates, when he met them afterwards, he admitted that he had "never preached to so impenitent a congregation." But at least he had made a beginning in the work of reconciliation. Within a few weeks, with the assistance of the Lord Mayor and of the Bishop of London, a committee of conciliation was formed. Lord Buxton, who was one of the committee, has recorded how "day after day, from ten in the morning till seven or eight at night, Manning spent interviewing, discussing, negotiating, sometimes waiting hour after hour patiently but anxiously, at the Mansion House. He never appeared disheartened or cast down. He was always confident that with time, tact and patience, peace would speedily prevail." Ben Tillett was impressed by the contrast between his diplomatic methods and those of

the other principal negotiators : " The older man was more human and subtle, his diplomacy that of the ages and the Church. He chided the pomp of the Lord Mayor, the harshness of (Bishop) Temple, the pushfulness of (John) Burns."

Before long the committee succeeded in prevailing upon the employers to grant the extra penny an hour. It was left to them to discuss with the strike leaders the date when the new conditions should begin. The offer of 1st April was rejected indignantly by the men, and 1st March was proposed instead. John Burns appealed to the cardinal as to whether or not the men had " behaved with sweet reasonableness." " My son, they have," said Manning ; and Burns retorted : " Then I do not think they ought to be asked to wait till March." Finally, agreement was reached upon accepting 1st January ; and the cardinal, Bishop Temple and the Lord Mayor proceeded at once to the directors to announce the news. After much difficulty and persuasion, their consent was obtained, but only on condition that the men returned to work at once. The last stages of the story are told so dramatically in Mr. Leslie's biography of Manning that the passage must be quoted as it stands : " The cardinal waited at the Mansion House till ten that night, but no answer came. The strikers had issued a manifesto repudiating all they had agreed to through Burns and Tillett. Directors and bishop withdrew in disgust, leaving the cardinal to make the best of it. Manning sent sadly for Tillett, and agreed to make a fresh effort for peace, but forbade the strikers to serenade his house. The men wished the date to be 1st October, and 4th November was suggested as a compromise. Toomey proposed that Manning should meet the men on their own ground. The mayor left London in despair, and Manning drove

down alone to Poplar (10th September 1889). A conference of three hours took place in the Wall Street School, but all Manning's eloquence could not prevail on the men to accept 4th November. For two hours the debate raged without a single ray of hope. Manning analysed and criticised their own arguments, and in turn pleaded or threatened. Then he played his last card. He would call on the Irish Catholics in the docks, and they would hear his voice. Tom M'Carthy was won and others murmured assent. Finally, Mr. Champion, an English Socialist, who used to say 'If the cardinal told me to cut my hair in a tonsure I should do it,' proposed 'That this meeting empowers Cardinal Manning to inform the dock directors that the men are willing to meet them half-way in the matter of time at which the payment is to begin, and accept Monday, 4th November, as the date.' This was carried by 28 to 15, and of the minority all but one eventually acquiesced."

Manning drove home with Lord Buxton with the resolution in his pocket signed by all the leaders. But he waited for two days more before he informed the directors of what had taken place. Anxious inquiries came to know whether the cardinal also had completely failed. Manning was playing for time, until they had grown prepared to make some further concession in the last resort. On 12th September word came to Archbishop's House that the dock owners were willing to consider the terms "if they came through Cardinal Manning," but that the sympathetic strike must terminate as well. Once more Manning had to negotiate single-handed, but in two days the necessary consent had been obtained. On 14th September what was known at once as "the cardinal's peace" was duly signed by both sides. The old cardinal was worn out

with his long vigil and remained quietly at home. "This is a great joy, thank God!" he wrote to Father Lawless in the docks. "I am too weary to come and shall make to-morrow a day of rest. But give my blessing to your people." Lord Buxton, who had been most closely associated with him, received a message: "If there were anything to be done I would not fail to be with you, but we have only to rejoice over the happy close. For a month past, I have seen the Thames as stagnant as the Dead Sea. To-morrow I hope to see it once more full of life and motion, worthy of the Port of London." It was a personal triumph such as London had not witnessed for generations. Men rubbed their eyes in amazement at what had been accomplished by the Catholic archbishop, when the civil powers had failed and even the Bishop of London had left him to fight on alone. "Why has my dear Bishop of London gone back and left it to him?" wrote Archbishop Benson in his diary. "Are the dockers on strike Roman Catholics all?"

Manning took no part in the celebrations which were held in his own honour. Lord Buxton invited him to attend at the public celebrations on 4th November—the day when the new scale of pay came into operation—but he was able to evade it upon an illuminating pretext. "It is impossible," he replied; "the 4th November is a day on which for thirty-two years I have been bound to be at our house at Bayswater." And so, instead of receiving the great ovation which had been prepared for him, Manning spent the feast day of St. Charles in the quiet of the oblates' house where his own first ministrations as a Catholic priest in London had been centred. It was perhaps more than a coincidence that his own negotiations should have resulted in agreement being reached upon the date of St. Charles's

festival. The workers hailed him as their saviour, and his intervention did more than anything else to strengthen his missionary work among the Catholic workers—not alone in London—and brought many new converts into the churches which were already beginning to rise in the crowded districts of East London. The strikers raised a subscription from the pennies which he had helped them to win and presented him with £160. He handed it over to the London Hospital to endow a bed. They also presented him with an address which expressed their heartfelt and undying gratitude. "When we remember," they said, "how your Eminence, unasked and unsolicited, under the weight of fourscore and two years, came forward to mediate between master and man; when we remember your prudent and wise counsels not to let any heat of passion or unreasonable view of the position beguile us or lead us away from the fair point of duty to our employers and ourselves; and when, in fine, we recall to mind your venerable figure in our midst for over four hours in the Wade Street School, listening to our complaints and giving us advice in our doubts and difficulties, we seem to see a father in the midst of a loving and well loved family, rather than the ordinary mediator or benefactor in the thick of a trade dispute."

The strike had been fought upon one of the simplest and clearest issues in all the history of the trade union movement, which involved the two principles upon which Manning insisted as bedrock: the right of unorganised and defenceless workers to organise for self-defence, and the right of every worker to a living wage. The controversy cut so deep that it is well to record Manning's own considered views of it as a sample of what he preached in practice. "If the directors, a month ago," he wrote a few days after the settlement,

" had met their men face to face, and until they had come to an agreement, the strike would have ended in ten days. Instead of this they tried to go round at the back of the men and fill their places with men from Greenock, Liverpool and, it was said, from Antwerp. If they had succeeded, we should have had bloodshed. Fifty thousand strangers at work and fifty thousand old hands out in the cold would have ended in an interminable conflict. Their failure saved them. And then they call on us to rescue them from the dangers caused by their partial success in a blind policy." Summing up his impressions of the whole episode in the *New Review* he urged, " What we may hope will come from this strike is a registration of labourers and an organisation of labour. This will clear the dock gates and the east of London of thousands who year by year flow in from the country without knowledge or skill. They become a floating population of disappointed men—indolent because unemployed, living from hand to mouth, and dangerous because they have nothing to lose ; starving in the midst of wealth and prosperity from which they are excluded. Nevertheless, without any blind self-praise, I believe we may say that since the cotton famine of the north there has been no nobler example of self-command than we have seen in the last month. And I am bound to bear witness not only to the self-command of the men, but also the measured language and calm courtesy of the employers." He had no illusions as to the restlessness and ignorance of the workers at the time, but he was consumed with pity for their misery. " The men are unreasonable," he wrote to Lord Buxton in November. " They will lose their monopoly. If anything ought to be reopened, the half hour of dinner for the dockers ought to be. You know, of course, that when dockers grow grey they

stain their hair lest they should be turned off as old men."

In the few years that remained he was to be sought out in dispute after dispute and implored to use his influence. He seldom failed to respond to any such appeal; but he restricted himself to bringing both sides together, and exercised a restraining hand upon the wilder agitators. Mr. Leslie describes how he bound over Ben Tillett to make no more inflammatory speeches; and when Tillett came back after some weeks, Manning gravely produced a long newspaper cutting from a drawer and read it to him. Tillett listened in abject humiliation at having been caught out; but the old cardinal said to him before they parted: "My dear Benjamin, if I were as young as you I should do the same." One union after another came to him for guidance when trouble arose. "The Silvertown workers are coming here to-day," he wrote on 30th November of the same year; "I could not refuse them, but I can do little for them." And a fortnight later: "The Lord Mayor has called on us here about the coal workers' case. It is intolerable that London should be in darkness because a private company is pleased to quarrel with their men." And again, in the last days of the year, he wrote to Lord Buxton: "I have been thinking over the strike matters, and the more I think, the more I am on the side of labour. Labour and skill are capital as much as gold and silver. Gold and silver are dependent on labour and skill, but labour and skill are independent *in limine*. The union of the two capitals demands participation in the product. Wages are a minimised money representation of shares in product—that is, in profits. Silvertown gives 15 per cent. to its shareholders and denies halfpence and farthings to its workers. This is more or less the state of

the labour market at large. No strike is worth making except for a twofold share in the profits of a two-fold capital. But individualism, selfishness, freedom of contract, and competition have obliterated the first principles of the Metayer system." One more extract is most significant of all. " A clergyman said last week : ' The dockers' strike succeeded because the police did not do their duty ; the gas strike has failed because the police did their duty.' The freedom of contract is maintained by the truncheon. There is no justice, mercy, or compassion in the plutocracy. There is my creed."

There are many devout Catholics still who regard these strongly Radical views of the cardinal with horror. For them there may be some consolation in the fact that even his successor—who had for so many years been Manning's most intimate ally in the hierarchy, and the principal lieutenant in so many of his enterprises—declared quite definitely, in an appreciation published after Manning's death, that the venerable archbishop had been suffering from " senile decay " in his last years. There is no doubt that many of his sympathies and associations—not only his alliance with labour leaders and with the sensational methods of W. T. Stead, but his participation in the Metaphysical Society and his open expressions of sympathy with the Salvation Army—scandalised many good Catholics in Rome as well as in England. Among the old English Catholics particularly, with their long tradition of strong conservatism in politics, his political activities were deeply deplored. For Manning not only supported the trade unions long before they had become respectable and highly organised bodies, and while they were still led by firebrands like Ben Tillett and Tom Mann. He was an acknowledged supporter of Home

Rule and a personal friend of some of the Irish nationalist leaders. It is irrelevant to discuss his views on Irish politics in these pages: but two aspects of his connection with Irish nationalism must be noted for their results. His most intimate friend among the Irish bishops was Cardinal Cullen, and Cullen was a strong Conservative, with a vehement hatred of secret societies. Their association was to have a curious result in the late 'sixties, when the Fenian Society was at the height of its activities, and the English prisons became full of Irish political convicts. Manning, as Archbishop of Westminster, gave his full support to Cullen's unrelenting denunciation of the secret societies; but the presence of so many Fenian prisoners in England gave Manning an opportunity to press upon Gladstone the need for appointing Catholic prison chaplains. In his first year as archbishop he was able to write to Archbishop Cullen that the Fenian prisoners in Pentonville had asked for Mass and the Government had granted it. "This is a strange victory," he wrote, "on which I make no comment except, 'Thank God!'" Manning declared in a public speech to a Catholic audience in Birmingham, "Show me an Irishman who has lost the faith, and I will show you a Fenian." But he was to learn from experience that the Fenians remained in all other respects devout Catholics, in spite of their joining condemned secret societies, and he sympathised so far with their resentment of English domination in Ireland that he wrote to Gladstone: "I am convinced that we hold Ireland by force, not only against the will of the majority, but in violation of all rights, natural and supernatural—that is, of politics, justice and of religious conscience. Moreover, that our bayonets there are as truly foreign bayonets as the French in Rome."

He had been a strong advocate of Disestablishment of

the Protestant Church in Ireland long before he became a Catholic ; and when Disestablishment was carried he hoped for a new era of appeasement. But the land agitation and the emergence of Parnell at the end of the 'seventies brought the Irish question to a crisis again, and Manning wrote frankly to one of Gladstone's colleagues : " I am very Irish in my sympathies, and I hope for some measure which will be felt in the homes of the poor." Only once, in his pamphlet letter to Lord Grey, did he write at any great length publicly in favour of the Irish agitation. But his letters show the deep sympathy with which he followed it. Ten years before the Land League was founded, he had denounced the land question in his letter to Lord Grey as " a somewhat heartless euphemism for hunger, thirst, nakedness, notice to quit, labour in vain, the breaking-up of homes, the miseries, sicknesses, death of parents, children, wives : the despair and wildness which spring up in the hearts of the poor when legal force, like a sharp harrow, goes over the most sensitive and vital rights of mankind." The Land League brought back the influence of Fenianism controlled from America, and Manning urged reform passionately as the only means of averting violent agitation and widespread crime. He felt that English Catholics could do next to nothing beyond supporting the Irish bishops to the utmost of their power. An opportunity came to him unexpectedly in 1885, when Cardinal M'Cabe's death raised the question of his successor as Archbishop of Dublin. Dr. Walsh, the President of Maynooth, was well known for his Nationalist sympathies, and his appointment to the see was generally desired in Ireland. English official influences at the Vatican were being mobilised to prevent his nomination, and Manning threw all his personal influence with Cabinet Ministers into support

of Dr. Walsh as incomparably the ablest and most desirable candidate. The Pope, as in Manning's own case, had taken the matter into his own hands ; and Archbishop Croke, and the Irish bishops generally, found themselves unable to exert any influence in Rome. They appealed to Manning as a staunch friend, and he wrote at once to support Dr. Walsh's nomination, while explaining the danger of the Vatican appearing to be swayed by the English Government in regard to Irish appointments. His representations went far to counteract the influences on the other side ; and in helping to secure the nomination of Dr. Walsh, Manning performed a service both to the Irish Church and to the popular cause in Ireland which earned him lasting gratitude. The recently published biography of Archbishop Walsh shows how closely Manning associated himself, behind the scenes, with the Nationalist activities of Dr. Walsh and Dr. Croke. It reveals also the extent to which Manning devoted his attention to political matters in the closing years of his life, and the tendency on his part to encourage the Irish bishops to place themselves at the head of the popular movement in order to keep it within their control. His political views were so much more " clerical " than those of the Irish hierarchy that even the most politically-minded of them, Archbishops Walsh and Croke, were on several occasions obliged to restrain his own desire to intervene publicly in connection with Irish politics.

Cardinal Vaughan

CHAPTER XIII

CARDINAL VAUGHAN

For several years after his settlement of the dockers' strike, Manning gradually lost the remnants of his physical vitality. He expected the end almost from day to day as the last flickerings of life slowly died down; but, as he said himself, he had been "so long ailing but never failing" that no one expected the end so suddenly as it actually came. His doctor, Sir Andrew Clark, visited him on 13th January 1892, and arranged to come again punctually the following morning. But quite suddenly the unmistakable symptoms of approaching death appeared during the day, and the Chapter of Westminster were summoned to witness the dying cardinal make his final profession of faith. Through the night he lived on, attended by a group of his most intimate friends; and in the small hours Bishop Herbert Vaughan left him to say Mass for him in his private chapel. Manning died while Herbert Vaughan was still saying his Mass. The great reception rooms were converted into a chapel so that the public could have an opportunity of coming to pay their last homage to him. "In long files," writes Purcell, "dense masses of people moved slowly and patiently down the street, awaiting in regular order their turn for admission into the presence of the mortal remains of the venerated and beloved cardinal: all day long from morning to night—people of every rank and condition of life, private friends, public admirers, and working-

men, Catholic and non-Catholic alike, and the poor, ill-clad, half-fed, and the women often with children in their arms—all alike eager to offer their last homage of veneration, affection and gratitude. For three days masses of the people of London passed through the chapel before the body of the cardinal lying in state. No one was permitted to stop or kneel."

But even this extraordinary demonstration of the public esteem which Manning had won during his forty years at Westminster was to be surpassed by the unprecedented scenes at the funeral ceremony in the Brompton Oratory, where sixteen bishops took part. Just as Cardinal Wiseman's funeral had produced an amazing display of public sympathy, such as had not been witnessed since the public funeral of the Duke of Wellington, so now Manning's funeral eclipsed even the impressiveness of the scenes at the burial of his predecessor. Public societies of every kind—philanthropic associations, trade unions, official organisations—were represented prominently in the vast procession from the church to the graveside. "This organised procession," however, says the biographer, "bearing testimony to the great philanthropic and benevolent works in which Cardinal Manning had become so prominent a part, shrank into insignificance in comparison with the spontaneous manifestation of respect and reverence shown by the vast concourse of people lining the streets through which the funeral procession passed. London offered an unique spectacle on that memorable occasion. No funeral in our day was witnessed by such vast masses of people. The procession passed through more than four miles of streets, rendered at certain points almost impassable by the dense crowds. All England was represented, and was of one mind in doing honour to Cardinal Manning."

The funeral was a wonderful tribute to the accomplishment of one object which Manning had always kept before him as Archbishop of Westminster. He had always held that Catholics in England must come out from their traditional obscurity and take a full part in the national life of the country. In his famous memorandum, published by Purcell after his death, on the "Hindrances to the Spread of Catholicism in England," he had written with his usual vehemence of the need for such participation by Catholics in public life. "In truth, the whole civil and political life of England is open to us," he wrote, "if we know how to enter and how to bear ourselves. Our faith must go with us and govern us everywhere, but except on the rarest occasions it need not be proclaimed. If such occasion arise, let it be done in an open and manly way, and not only no offence is given or taken, but confidence and respect are notably increased. In my forty years in London, I have had all manner of proof of what I write. The dictum of Terence: *Homo sum et humani nihil a me alienum puto* is not repealed by 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.' It is quickened, enforced, extended and elevated. Everything, therefore, that affects the human sufferings and state of the people, it is the duty of every civilised man to note and tend, much more of every Christian man, and above all of every Catholic, man and woman, and emphatically of every priest and bishop. We cannot multiply loaves or heal lepers as our Lord did, by which the people were won to follow and learn of Him, but we can be prompt and foremost in working with all who are labouring to relieve every form of human suffering, sorrow and misery. If we come forward gladly and usefully, the people of this country are visibly glad to receive us among them."

Manning's death marked the end of a long epoch in which the two great converts had towered above the rest of Catholics in England. His own tenure of office as archbishop had lasted for nearly twenty-seven years. He had outlived Newman, whose personality had dominated Catholic thought in England, just as his own had dominated Catholic affairs. In the last years there had been a slight approachment between them ; and Manning's famous account of their life-long friendship, in his panegyric at Newman's funeral, was not so insincere as his critics have pretended. It was Manning who forwarded to Rome, with a letter so warm in its recommendation that no friend of Newman could have desired more, the formal appeal by the Duke of Norfolk and Lord Ripon that Newman might be made a cardinal. And as cardinals they met on a footing of equality which Manning, in spite of his own seniority, did everything possible to emphasise. A new generation had grown up in the meantime, to whom even the Oxford Movement was little more than a legend, while the conditions which existed before the restoration of the hierarchy could even then be remembered by only a small number of living Catholics. Ullathorne, the ablest and most commanding figure among the old Catholics, who had been personally responsible for completing the negotiations which Wiseman began for the restoration of the hierarchy, had died in 1889. The generation which produced the Victorian giants had all but disappeared. Vast changes had come over the Catholic body during the long period of Manning's rule at Westminster ; and he himself had done much to weld the various elements into a coherent body. The Irish immigration had been so preponderant for many years after the restoration of the hierarchy that Manning himself wrote to his future successor at Westminster in

the 'eighties, in a letter urging him to avoid causing friction between the Irish and the English bishops, that "eight-tenths of the Catholics of England are Irish. Two-tenths—say two hundred thousand—are English, but a large number are in sympathy with Ireland." And during Manning's own rule a marked change had been gradually coming over the various elements which he had tried to amalgamate. The children of the original converts were now becoming prominent in Catholic life, and had for the most part been Catholic from birth, while the children of the Irish immigrants had lost much of their former aloofness, even though they retained a vivid sense of their Irish traditions.

The one section which, in the nature of things, had not increased to anything like the same extent in numbers, while its former social and political influence had also been steadily diminishing with the growth of more democratic conditions, was the old Catholic aristocracy which had kept the faith alive in England in the centuries of persecution. They alone, however, preserved to a great extent their traditional exclusiveness and coherence as a distinct group within the Catholic body. And among the hierarchy they were still very strongly represented. What was more, they had during the later years of Manning's life supplied at last, from among their own body, by far the most vigorous and attractive figure in the hierarchy. Before Manning died, the abilities and the outstanding personality of Herbert Vaughan had been so generally recognised that there was very little doubt as to who should succeed Manning at Westminster. The Chapter met at the pro-cathedral early in February to choose the three names which should be submitted to Rome; and although either Dr. Hedley, Bishop of Newport, or Mgr. Gilbert, the Vicar-General of Westminster,

who were named second and third in the terna, would have made an admirable choice, it was taken for granted that Bishop Herbert Vaughan of Salford—whose name headed the list—would be appointed.

For years in the Westminster diocese, after Manning's appointment to the see, Vaughan had been one of Manning's principal and most active lieutenants in many of his undertakings. He had worked great changes at St. Edmund's while Manning was exercising such a powerful influence as provost in the closing years of Wiseman's rule ; and he had afterwards performed prodigies of zealous organisation in founding the missionary college at Mill Hill. But his abilities soon made his appointment to a bishopric inevitable ; and he had been for twenty years away from London, as Bishop of Salford, when Manning died. In area, Salford was the smallest of the English dioceses, but in Manchester and the surrounding districts it contained one of the most important concentrations of Catholic population in England. There could have been no better training for a future Cardinal-Archbishop of Westminster, drawn from the ranks of the old aristocracy, than these years of devoted experience among the poor Irish Catholics of the industrial cities of Lancashire. The Vaughans, who were themselves one of the most famous Catholic families in the country, were interrelated by marriage with almost all the other leading Catholic families. No other family had given such an extraordinary number of its members to the priesthood in modern times, and their conspicuous zeal and energy had brought them all to high positions in the Church. One of Herbert Vaughan's brothers became Archbishop of Sydney ; another was Bishop of Plymouth ; a third was to become the most popular preacher of his time as a Jesuit at Farm Street ; and

Herbert Vaughan himself was now universally regarded as the obvious successor designate to Manning at Westminster.

It was profoundly characteristic of Herbert Vaughan that, while everyone took his nomination to Westminster for granted, he should be alone in believing himself so unfitted for the task that he actually wrote an urgent appeal to Rome to disregard the recommendations which had been submitted in his favour. Few men have ever been so fully aware of their own limitations ; and the letter which he sent to implore the Pope to pass him over in favour of someone with more brilliant gifts must be quoted for the light it throws upon his character. " A person may succeed in the subordinate position of a bishop in a provincial city such as Manchester," he wrote, " and yet be very unfit to be metropolitan and fill the see of Westminster. The duties are altogether of a different order, and they require altogether different qualifications. I do not possess these higher qualifications, and feeling convinced of this, I should be risking my own peace of mind and the salvation of my soul were I not, upon the first opportunity, to press this consideration upon the mind of your Holiness. The see of Westminster ought to be occupied by a bishop distinguished for some gift of superior learning or by remarkable sanctity, for he ought to be commended to the Church and to the people of England (for whose conversion he may be able to do more than anyone else) by some manifest superiority or excellence. Holy Father, it is no mock modesty or fashion of speech which makes the confession that I have no qualification of learning for such a post. I do not excel as a preacher, an author, a theologian, a philosopher, or even as a classical scholar. Whatever I may be in these matters, in none am I above a poor

mediocrity. It will be very easy in such a position as the see of Westminster to compromise the interests of religion in England by errors of judgment—and the very quality of a certain tenacity and determination would make these errors still more serious. As to the other characteristic, sanctity of life, which often makes up for certain intellectual shortcomings, I will only say this, that no one will have been so blind as to have said that I possess this compensating degree of holiness. These, most Holy Father, seem to me to be manifest reasons for addressing your Holiness, upon whom much responsibility rests for the progress of religion in England and in every country in the world. I beg of you to select some one more worthy of this important position, and I will gladly continue to labour where I have been for nearly twenty years, as long as God shall give me strength."

Nothing that any of his critics could have said in disparagement of his gifts, in comparison either with the brilliant intellect and the inspiring enthusiasm of Wiseman, or the dominating force and the restless energy and diplomacy of Manning, could exceed the scepticism with which the new archbishop regarded his own qualifications for his duties. No one knew better than he that the dramatic epoch of Manning's great administration at Westminster was at an end, and that the following years could not be expected to do more than consolidate the vast work that had been progressing for half a century. But Vaughan had obvious great qualities which gave a peculiar distinction to his twelve years of authority at Westminster; and while he played no great part in public questions, as Manning and Wiseman had done, he initiated several great works which have added enormously to the legacy of English Catholics in England. The achievement with

which his name will be always most inseparably connected was the building of Westminster Cathedral, and the choice of Bentley as its architect. Manning had been asked to undertake the building of the cathedral as a memorial to Wiseman, but he had wisely held that the time had not yet come when the money could be found without crippling his resources for other work much more urgently needed. He had at least bought the land upon which the cathedral should be built. Vaughan held that the time had now come when a great Catholic cathedral in London would be an enormous asset to the development of the Church, and he set himself at once to face the problem. He had special reasons of his own, in addition to the desire to make an immense and symbolical gesture to the country. He had longed for years to see the daily performance of the Church's ritual brought back to the life of Catholics in England, and the new cathedral would make this a possibility at once. Here was a point, as his biographer, Mr. Snead Cox, vividly puts it, " upon which the work of the Reformation had yet to be undone. The cardinal saw in his still unbuilt cathedral an opportunity for in this respect completing the work begun by the restoration of the hierarchy. To him, therefore, the cathedral was at once the symbol of the passing away of the sort of stunted and maimed life which was the heritage of the persecution, and the means of bringing back the proper presentment of the sacred liturgy as the daily and public worship of the Church. . . . His busy, intensely practical mind was for ever engaged with new schemes for getting the utmost service and value out of the cathedral, but first and last he prized it most because it made possible the most perfect and devotional rendering of the great prayer of the Church."

The difficulties of raising the necessary funds were

enormous; and Vaughan saw from the start that his only hope lay in carrying through the whole project within ten years, if people were to be induced to subscribe. Manning himself had at one stage hoped that he could have built the cathedral in his own last years, when Sir Tatton Sykes had promised to provide the whole necessary funds himself. The offer was withdrawn; but in the excitement of the time while it lasted, Manning had seized upon a unique opportunity to buy the site of the old Middlesex County Prison. He had formed a special land company for the purpose, which bought the entire grounds and buildings, took over the previously bought site, and transferred to the archbishop the site where the present cathedral stands.[1] But Manning was too old to undertake the colossal task after the disappointment of 1883, and Vaughan now had to consider ways and means. It was he who decided that the cathedral was to be a Byzantine building, partly to avoid challenging comparison with Westminster Abbey, and above all because the great shell of the cathedral could thus be built at a minimum of cost. The completion of the interior could wait for future generations, once it had become possible to clear off all debt upon the actual building, and so be free to consecrate it for religious use. He deliberately chose to imitate the character of Constantine's great basilica, first because it fulfilled these indispensable requirements, but not least because it was dedicated to St. Peter, and also because its main features had been long ago reproduced in Canterbury.

The choice of Bentley as the architect was almost accidental, though Vaughan had known him for many years; and it was decided after much hesitation to

[1] The extremely interesting story of these transactions is told in Mr Snead Cox's *Life of Cardinal Vaughan*, vol. ii, pp. 314-8.

entrust the work to him without competition, since he refused on principle through all his career to enter into competition with others. Bentley was at first by no means enthusiastic about the Byzantine style ; but he was soon inspired by the vastness and grandeur of its possibilities. Vaughan had to convert almost everyone to his own views on the matter, and not his least difficulty was the constant criticism that he was raising huge sums to build a " jerry-built cathedral." But by June 1895, when the foundation stone was laid by the new archbishop, a sum of £75,000 had already been collected ; and his efforts never ceased from that day forward. His brother, Father Kenelm Vaughan, obtained permission to go on a begging tour in Spain and in South America, from which after years of travelling he brought back £18,000. Pope Leo XIII sent a personal gift of £1000, through Mgr. Fenton, who was sent to raise money in Italy. By 1898 the total had passed £100,000. But the vast work demanded more funds for its completion, and in June 1902 a final amount of £16,000 was still needed. Vaughan was already aware that the end of his own life was not far off ; and in the last year he made his supreme appeal. The cathedral could not be consecrated so long as any debt upon the building remained. " The shell of a spacious, massive and imperishable cathedral," he wrote, " has been built upon a site absolutely free." Sickness and infirmity had already begun to weigh upon him, but in the last months he saw the full amount collected. Bentley had died a few months before, and though the cardinal himself never saw the consummation of his work, and found it necessary to retire to his old missionary college at Mill Hill for the last months during which he was completely infirm, the vast structure was all but complete when he looked at

it for the last time. " A live cathedral " was the phrase in which Cardinal Vaughan constantly summarised the many objects which its building represented to his own mind. It is interesting now to recall the ideas which inspired him, in comparison with what has actually been accomplished. In some respects his ambition remains unfulfilled ; in others, it has been surpassed beyond his most enthusiastic anticipations. " He thought of it as a Catholic arsenal," writes his biographer, " from which lectures and missioners should go forth to preach and evangelise, as the meeting-ground for sodalities and confraternities and workmen's guilds, as a school of sacred eloquence, and as a place where the perfection of church music should be heard. He hoped that its library would be a help to ecclesiastical students all over the country, and that its manner of conducting the ceremonies of the Church would serve as a model and as an example to every one. Above all, this hard, practical, Lancashire bishop thought of his unborn cathedral as providing a splendid and fitting shrine for the sacred liturgy." As a place of assembly for Catholic organisations and great gatherings, the cathedral has, again and again, done far more than its author could ever have dreamed of it. Mr. Snead Cox, in his biography, notes how even within a few years of the cardinal's death the new cathedral had utterly surpassed all expectations in this respect. " If it had been possible," he writes, " to imagine the cathedral as it was, for instance, during the time of the great functions of the Eucharistic Congress of 1908, Cardinal Vaughan's way would have been made very smooth for him. Such prevision was quite wanting to the majority of those to whom he had to make his appeal."

But in regard to the liturgy, one disappointment had occurred even before the cathedral was yet completed.

Cardinal Vaughan had announced at the luncheon after the laying of the foundation stone that the English Benedictines had accepted his invitation to assume full control of the liturgical services in the cathedral. Obvious difficulties had been overlooked, and the scheme had to be abandoned. On the other hand, there have been solid compensations. The work of Sir Richard Terry, in training the cathedral choir in plain chant, has had an immense influence upon church music all over the country, and has given to the cathedral a prestige in regard to sacred music such as Herbert Vaughan can never have hoped for. It has also served to emphasise the unchallenged eminence of Catholic musicians in the life of modern England ; in which two great Catholics, Sir Edward Elgar and Sir Richard Terry, have had a greater influence than any of their contemporaries. Similarly the choice of Bentley as architect for the cathedral—although the appointment was made almost by accident and without any personal preference in his favour on Vaughan's part—has given scope to one of the greatest architects of his time. The convert Pugin, under Wiseman's rule at Westminster, had built cathedral churches and other religious buildings all over England, which were acknowledged as the most original and distinguished architecture of their day ; and in a later generation, Bentley attained, through the opportunity provided by Cardinal Vaughan, a prestige which almost rivalled that of Pugin. In a later generation again, another Catholic architect, Sir Giles Gilbert Scott, has reached a similar eminence in his profession, and has devoted his talents with similar enthusiasm and earnestness of purpose to the designing of sacred buildings.

Twelve years of tremendous effort and of many difficulties had worn out even the indefatigable energy

of an archbishop who suffered from none of the temperamental emotions of Wiseman or from the consuming restlessness of Manning. He had carried much further several of the works which Manning had initiated, and two of his special achievements must be recorded. The old question of the Catholic children in the Board schools had been largely settled by Manning's tireless energy; but Manning's consent to the Board-school system had brought other problems in the course of years. The grants to the denominational schools, under the old system, penalised the schools which lacked resources of their own; and the Catholic schools, with a very much higher proportion of poor children than those of any other denomination, fared worst. In Salford, Vaughan had devoted more attention to the schools than to any other question; and it was his initiative in founding the diocesan Voluntary Schools' Association that encouraged other dioceses to form similar bodies, until the Association soon became recognised as entitled to speak for the whole Catholic body. The main trouble was to induce the Government to give equal grants in proportion to the number of pupils, instead of compelling the supporters of the denominational schools to provide most of the necessary expense. The result, while the system lasted, was that the Catholic schools, with their wholly inadequate resources, had worse buildings and fewer teachers and larger classes than the others.

One of Cardinal Vaughan's first acts at Westminster was to summon a meeting of the bishops to consider the question. The *Tablet*, as the cardinal's personal organ, expressed the urgent difficulties of the situation by saying that " men on all sides recognise that the dual system established in 1870 cannot go on much longer. The pace, already too fast, is being savagely

pressed and the voluntary schools are everywhere losing ground. Without taking count of the denominational schools which have simply closed, no less than 1200 have surrendered, and let themselves be transferred to the School Boards. Of these, 850 belonged to the Establishment; while it is a matter of legitimate congratulation and pride that up to the present hour not one Catholic school in any part of the country has been let go. Every other religious body has seen its schools captured by the score, but the Church of the poor, the Church with the scantiest resources and the worst-paid teachers, has held her own, and never yielded a single prize to the conquering School Boards. Thus far, for the Catholic wing, the fight has been glorious and not disastrous, but there is great reason to believe that the whole denominational army is being gradually forced into a thoroughly indefensible position."

Vaughan met the situation with a real sympathy for the other denominational schools, and set himself to mobilise every possible influence in the political world to secure the abolition of the existing voluntary system. He urged publicly that the time had come when voluntary subscriptions for the support of the public elementary schools should cease altogether. "I submit," he said, "that they ought without hesitation or apology to demand a full measure of justice and not to pray and pay for mercy." The Unionist party had returned to power, pledged to deal justly with the denominational schools; but Vaughan now found himself crippled by the attitude of the Anglican bishops, who repudiated any idea of asking the Government to relieve them of having to make sacrifices for their schools. Vaughan retorted, after summoning a further meeting of the Catholic hierarchy, that while the

Anglican Church with its great wealth could afford to make such sacrifices, Catholics were wholly unable to act in the same way. "In their poverty," he said, "they must be content to stand upon the common ground of justice and equity, and to demand, at least for themselves, that the law shall declare that the same payment shall be made for secular instruction given in their public elementary schools as for that given in Board schools." The Act of 1897 went some way to remedying this inequality for the time being, by giving a supplementary grant of five shillings per child to the voluntary schools. And once again, after the general election of 1900, it was possible to raise the question with new hope. The cardinal had urged upon the clergy the necessity of asking all Catholic voters to make every candidate give assurances as to his attitude. The return of the Unionists to power again gave Vaughan a new sense of security; and the Act of 1902 was in due time carried, which gave sanction to the principle which he asserted—"that public elementary education shall cease to be eleemosynary, and that the whole cost of maintenance shall be defrayed by the State."

While the schools' question and the building of Westminster Cathedral absorbed most of his energies, Vaughan succeeded also in settling one extremely important issue. The care of destitute Catholic children had in the past been a problem too great for the resources of the Catholic body; and, with the growth of Dr. Barnardo's Homes, there was a constant leakage of Catholic children into homes where their parents were obliged to leave them until they had grown up. The parents were in every case required to sign a pledge which admitted that they would not be taught the Catholic religion. Manning had attempted to solve

the problem by guaranteeing that no Catholic child would be left uncared for whom the Barnardo Homes were asked to accept. But the promise in many cases could not be fulfilled. The Catholic resources had, however, improved—with the improvement of conditions among many of the descendants of the poorest working-class—and gradually new possibilities emerged. Vaughan reopened negotiations with Dr. Barnardo, but met with no success at first. Finally he decided boldly to establish the Crusade of Rescue, and to confront Dr. Barnardo with a definite pledge that no Catholic child who was destitute would be refused admission to its homes, if Dr. Barnardo would undertake to send all Catholic destitute children to its headquarters. The work involved an enormous act of faith, but it was placed in heroic hands when Father Banns undertook responsibility for it. Worn out with eighteen years of raising money for the needs of the destitute children, he has quite recently died, and his successor, Father George Craven, now carries on a work which has become one of the greatest of Catholic national institutions, supplementing the efforts of the various diocesan institutions of similar character.

Many other Catholic societies, which have since grown to national dimensions, owe their origin also to Cardinal Vaughan's tireless energy and enthusiasm. The Catholic Missionary Society, to provide missionary priests to preach to non-Catholics all over England, was founded by Cardinal Vaughan shortly before his death, and has included many of the most gifted and most active priests in the country. Its present head is the cardinal's nephew and namesake, Dr. Herbert Vaughan, who was one of the first of its members, as a young priest, who devoted his life to the work. Of the other societies which owe much to him, the Catholic Truth

Society must be specially mentioned ; for it carried on, after an interval, the work which he had begun in London before he went to Manchester as Bishop of Salford. The success of its publications in recent years has been quite phenomenal. And not least among his activities was his connection with the *Tablet*, which he bought after his return from a great begging tour of America to raise funds for the missionary college at Mill Hill. As a newspaper proprietor and editor, he lacked experience and judgment, but he was a firm believer in the power of the Catholic Press. The *Tablet* had had a very varied career since the days when Frederick Lucas carried it to Dublin, and from there, during the famine years, made it an organ for attacking the Government from an Irish point of view. Under Vaughan's direction it expounded the traditionally Conservative and Unionist views of the English Catholic aristocracy, though it quickly repudiated the extremist policy of his predecessor, who had carried his antipathy to Ireland so far as to denounce even Gladstone's Bill for the Disestablishment of the Church of Ireland. At Westminster, Vaughan found the *Tablet* a convenient official organ for expressing his own policy on all important matters, and under the editorship of Mr. Snead Cox it was conducted with real distinction and literary talent ; though its strongly anti-Irish and Unionist bias made it extremely unpopular with the great majority of Catholics in the country. Cardinal Manning always counted upon Vaughan as his principal ally among the bishops, and in Vaughan's hands it was always at Manning's service. But Manning was constantly calling Vaughan's attention to the necessity of avoiding controversy on Irish politics. " The *Tablet* divided us, and it will divide more if it writes politically," Manning wrote in urgent warning to Vaughan

when Gladstone introduced his first Home Rule Bill. "The unity of the Church has been committed to us. I am very anxious that the bishops of Ireland should have no shadow of complaint about you or myself."

On one vital matter particularly Vaughan very soon reversed the policy which Manning had persisted in through all his career. After the failure of Newman's attempt to conduct a Catholic University in Dublin, the Catholic laity were left without any facilities whatever for obtaining higher education. Newman had felt the urgent need of providing some means for enabling the Catholic laity to obtain an education which would place them on the same footing in intellectual equipment with their social equals of other denominations. But Manning had opposed with relentless obstinacy all proposals for allowing Catholics to study either at Oxford or Cambridge. In the last resort, he had attempted the unsuccessful foundation of a University college in Kensington, in which Newman was not even invited to take part. The collapse of that experiment left the Catholic laity at a hopeless disadvantage, but Manning still refused implacably to give any consideration to their being sent there on any terms, or to allowing a Catholic college to be founded at either Oxford or Cambridge. So long as Manning lived, no one had dared raise the question openly again, though the small number of Catholics who went to both Universities continued steadily to increase. His death made it possible for the question to be raised under new conditions, and those who had been silent for so long under Manning's fierce refusal to consider it, lost no time in approaching Cardinal Vaughan. Vaughan had in the past supported Manning's view with conviction as well as loyalty; but he now confronted the problem anew without any sense of having to justify

his own consistency. He had been aware for some years that the exceptions which were allowed, on various pretexts, by many of the bishops were breaking down the whole system of exclusion ; and in a memorandum to the Holy See soon after his appointment to Westminster, he asked for a reconsideration of the position.

At a meeting of the bishops early in 1895, he brought the whole question up for discussion and persuaded them by a majority to petition the Holy See that the prohibition upon Catholic attendance at the Universities might be removed ; that the bishops might place themselves at the head of the movement, and form a Board of bishops, priests and laymen who would collect money and, subject to approval by the hierarchy, propose schemes for special lectures and other facilities. In the following year a collective letter from the bishops was addressed to all Catholic parents and guardians, announcing the appointment of chaplains and the constitution of a University Board which would be charged to raise funds for special courses of lectures intended for Catholic undergraduates. So the long controversy ended. Abbot Butler, who was one of the few students who took part in Manning's short-lived and disastrous experiment of founding a University College at Kensington, pays a high tribute to Cardinal Vaughan's courage and straightforwardness in declining to be bound by his own previous record on the question. " Never," he writes in his biography of Ullathorne, " did Herbert Vaughan's real greatness stand out more conspicuously than then." It is difficult now to understand, in the light of a wholly successful and desirable experience, how deeply rooted was the objection among the bishops—even when one allows for Manning's dominant position and influence over them—to allowing

the laity to send their sons to the Universities. " After thirty years' experience of Catholics at Oxford and Cambridge," says Abbot Butler, " we look back with wonder at the violences and fears and hesitations of sixty years ago, and the theorisings of Ward and Manning on the inevitable consequences that have not happened, and that there is no reason for supposing would have happened any more then than now." And he points out how completely Newman's views and policy were justified by later experiences. Ullathorne had been definitely in favour of a distinct Catholic hall or college in Oxford, even though he never proposed it openly. But Newman believed always that there could be no alternative between a completely Catholic University, such as he had failed to establish in Dublin, and allowing Catholics to mix freely with other students in the ordinary colleges at the Universities, provided that adequate arrangements were made for surrounding them with strong Catholic influences.

That, as Abbot Butler insists, is exactly what has eventually been done, " and in a measure and manner probably far beyond anything Newman ever dreamed of. This is Newman's signal victory in English Catholic party politics, whereby the idea he stood for, and fought for, and suffered for, did after his death come triumphantly to its own." That Newman should have been frustrated, not only in his personal desire to find full scope for his own academic gifts, but in his dream of seeing the Catholic laity rise out of their enforced backwardness in education, was a bitter tragedy for him personally, and a still greater tragedy for the Church in England. With Abbot Butler we cannot help thinking " how different it would be now ! What we now would give for an oratory at Oxford, with a Newman at its head ! What leadership in Catholic

movements would be his ! How gladly would his great powers be used to the utmost ! What free scope would be given him in writing, preaching, lecturing, speaking ! It all means a great change. Truly, we are living in a new epoch." But while such great opportunities were lost to an earlier generation, freedom has at last been won ; and the gratitude of those who have benefited by it can never be fully expressed to Cardinal Vaughan, for having had the courage and the energy to undertake a complete change of policy in contradiction of his own former views. Though the Catholics in the Universities have had no leader of Newman's genius and eminence to inspire and direct them, they have made good use of their new opportunities. At both the old Universities they have formed flourishing Catholic students' societies ; and Catholics have already attained high positions on the staffs of the colleges. At Oxford, especially, the Catholic tradition has been developing and strengthening with most remarkable progress in recent years. In all the new Universities of the great cities also, Catholic students are now enrolled in large numbers, and have begun to exercise a considerable influence everywhere ; which has been confirmed and greatly extended by the activities of the modern Federation of Catholic Students' Societies, and by the vigorous summer schools organised by Catholic movements. And while a new body of highly trained and educated Catholic laymen is thus being constantly increased, the tradition of Catholic scholarship and science has been carried on nobly by a succession of learned writers who are worthy successors of the earlier generation—by Lord Acton, Cardinal Gasquet, Bishop Bernard Ward, Abbot Butler and a score of others whose reputation stands in the front rank.

CHAPTER XIV

THE FUSION OF FORCES

ALTHOUGH the present Archbishop of Westminster has already ruled the see for twenty-five years, which cover one-quarter of the period with which this book is concerned, the activities and events during his term as archbishop are still so recent that no detailed description of the whole can be attempted. The period has been marked rather by steady development and consolidation than by dramatic events in connection with the Church ; and it is only possible to indicate the broad results by a comparison with the developments of a generation earlier. Only Cardinal Manning—of his three predecessors—has ruled the archdiocese for an equal length of years ; and while Manning impressed his own vigorous and aggressive personality upon his contemporaries, Cardinal Bourne has consistently pursued that work of quiet and enterprising organisation which had marked him out unmistakably as Cardinal Vaughan's successor, even though he was the youngest of the English bishops. The twenty-five years of his labours as Archbishop of Westminster have been remarkable for an extraordinary expansion of the activities and the scale of Catholic societies ; for a most notable increase in the participation of the laity in all Catholic affairs ; for a rapid and unquestionable fusion of the various elements which compose the English Church ; and for the very significant advance in the numbers of the Catholic population, through

natural increase, and through the continued influx of converts from all sections of the people. By his own antecedents, as well as in his policy, Cardinal Bourne typifies that remarkable fusion of the converts and the Irish immigrants which has transformed the character of the Catholic Church in England since they came to reinforce the very small Catholic population in England that had survived from the Reformation.

Born in the last years of Cardinal Wiseman's rule at Westminster, he was educated at Ushaw and at Ware, and afterwards at two of the great Catholic centres of learning on the Continent—at St. Sulpice, and at Louvain, where he formed an early friendship with the future Cardinal Mercier, as one of his students. He had been a priest only five years, engaged in the work of several parishes in Southwark, when he was appointed to organise the new diocesan seminary at Wonersh. He founded and conducted it with such ability that it became the recognised model for other separate diocesan seminaries. After ten years in charge of the seminary, he was consecrated as coadjutor bishop to the diocese of Southwark, and he succeeded to the see in 1897, while Cardinal Vaughan was actively engaged in the building of Westminster Cathedral. In the following years a series of new Catholic organisations came to life in the diocese under its new bishop, in which the laity were more and more encouraged to co-operate. The success and the methodical organisation of his activities quickly attracted attention everywhere; and on Cardinal Vaughan's death in 1903, he was transferred, with universal approval, from Southwark to the vacant archbishopric.

A new regime began with his arrival, which has developed on lines quite different to those of any of his predecessors. Wiseman, with his brilliant academic

attainments, his spontaneous enthusiasm and his immensely lovable character, had been succeeded by Manning, cold, austere and masterful, intensely interested in public life, and with an overwhelming pity for the poor. Cardinal Vaughan, with no pretentions to great intellectual attainments or to diplomatic subtlety, had brought to his task quite different gifts—a prodigious energy and zeal in organisation, the big conceptions of a man inspired by noble ideals and by simple faith, the prestige of a great family name in the Catholic history of England, and, not least, the personal popularity of a distinguished aristocrat whose breeding and gentle instincts, manly straightforwardness and innate self-confidence, made him a commanding figure wherever he appeared. Different to each of his three predecessors, Cardinal Bourne came to his high office with the reputation of a brilliant though not an outstanding scholar, and of being the ablest and most zealous pioneer of Catholic organisations in the very important diocese upon which he had made his mark in twenty years of arduous work since his ordination. He had neither the spectacular qualities of Cardinal Vaughan nor the political and diplomatic instincts of Cardinal Manning. As a scholar with an unbounded apostolic zeal for the conversion of England, he was more in the tradition of Cardinal Wiseman; though his natural tendency to avoid publicity was in marked contrast to Wiseman's constant desire to advertise the expansion of the Catholic Church in England. Under such a ruler, the see of Westminster was not likely to be associated either with the exciting politics in which Manning had indulged or with the encouragement of Anglo-Catholicism which Wiseman had regarded as the means of converting England to Rome. But his predecessor had left a wonderful legacy in the completion

of Westminster Cathedral ; and almost the first public act of his archbishopric was its consecration ceremony.

Political difficulties, however, arose very soon after he assumed control ; when the general election brought in a Liberal Government with an unprecedented majority, which gave unfettered scope for a reversal of the Conservative policy in regard to the denominational schools. The great majority of Catholics all over the country had supported the Liberal Party, and the subsequent controversies over the schools' question involved many complications. Cardinal Vaughan, by instinct a strong Tory, and by experience a supporter of the Conservatives on the schools' question, had been regarded with a certain distrust by the Irish Catholics —who were still roughly three-quarters of the Catholic population in England. To oppose the new Liberal Government under such circumstances required endless tact and skilful management ; and for ten years, until the War, the new archbishop found it necessary to consult separately with two distinct and opposing Catholic committees on the education question, between whom it was found impossible to arrange a joint meeting. The English committee—Unionist in politics —was bitterly opposed to the Liberal Government on all its programme, while the Irish committee—consisting chiefly of members of the Irish Nationalist Party in the House of Commons, who were pledged to support the Liberals in order to obtain Home Rule—was concerned rather in restraining the anti-clerical tendencies of Liberalism, which on other matters commanded their sympathy.

It is in London that the negotiations on all political matters have to be conducted, and the burden therefore falls with special weight upon the Archbishop of Westminster. But on the schools' question, Cardinal Bourne

was assisted at once by a spontaneous revolt among the Catholics of the north, from the first warnings of Mr. Birrell's Education Bill in 1906. In Liverpool, extraordinary demonstrations of protest took place almost immediately, and Archbishop Whiteside put himself at the head of the popular agitation. The Catholics rallied in overwhelming numbers to protest against proposals which would deprive them of Catholic teachers—since all teachers were to be appointed by the Local Education Authorities, who were also to have the entire management of the schools—and would deprive them of any religious education except what was described as " plain Bible teaching." A monster protest meeting was held in St. George's Hall, Liverpool, at which Archbishop Whiteside delivered the speech that compelled the Government to climb down. The entire hall was filled to overflowing ; additional meetings were held in every available hall near by, and even so, it was estimated that 60,000 people outside were unable to gain admittance. " We take our stand," declared Archbishop Whiteside, " on the rights of parents as defined by laws human and divine. Your claim is that those who are selected to have such an immense influence on the lives of your children should be persons who have your full and entire confidence. This is a right which the rich men and our legislators themselves have both in law and in fact. There is no reason why the poor working-man, to whom his children are no less dear, should be deprived of the same right." From Liverpool the agitation spread like wildfire through the northern towns, and thence southwards, until it culminated in an immense demonstration of protest in the Albert Hall in London, when Cardinal Bourne presided, and the Duke of Norfolk sat upon the same platform with Mr. Redmond and the whole Irish Parliamentary Party. Mr.

Birrell's Bill was killed by the threat of such formidable resistance ; and although the question was raised again by Mr. Runciman and Mr. M'Kenna, the Catholic opposition was strong enough, even before the War, to protect the Catholic schools against attack.

Faced from the first years of his appointment with the problem of the Catholic schools, Cardinal Bourne has been confronted with the same problem in various forms ever since ; and in the past year he has issued a strong appeal to Catholics all over the country to prepare public opinion upon the schools' question before the general election of 1929. The War, while it brought a truce to party politics, created new problems which have aggravated the former difficulties enormously. The question has dominated many of the twenty-five years of his rule at Westminster. In his Presidential address at the last triennial Catholic Congress, held in Manchester, the cardinal reviewed the whole question at length, and pointed out the steady decrease in the number of denominational schools in England since his own consecration as a bishop. Since 1896 the number of " provided " schools had increased from 6400 to about 9000, and their accommodation had almost doubled ; whereas the accommodation in the " non-provided " schools had decreased by one-quarter. The Church of England schools had decreased by some 600,000 pupils, and the Nonconformist schools by nearly 400,000 ; whereas the Catholic schools alone—notwithstanding the much smaller financial resources of the Catholic body—had shown an increase while the others diminished. Reviewing the legislation on the subject, the cardinal described the Balfour Act of 1902 as " a compromise which worked fairly well until the conditions on which it was based were shattered by the consequences of

the War," although the Liberals had made repeated efforts to destroy the compromise. Since the War, however, new and overwhelming difficulties have arisen, owing to the exorbitant cost of sites for schools and the drastic contraction of the resources available for subsidising the Catholic schools. The compromise represented by the Balfour Act could not, therefore, be made workable again, or even remotely equitable except by a great increase in the assistance given by the State to the denominational schools.

To meet this new situation, Cardinal Bourne outlined in 1926 a definite scheme for reconstructing the entire education system of the country. " I would plead," he said, " for a resettlement of the question on a basis in conformity with the older traditions of the country, which would give to every parent some say and some choice in the education of his children, and thereby lead him to take a closer interest in it ; which would encourage variety of school and every kind of true and legitimate educational endeavour ; and would, as far as possible, put every class of the community in the same condition of educational freedom, whatever their social status or financial position may chance to be. I would begin with the child, not with the State nor with the school. (1) Let every child, whose parents cannot otherwise adequately provide for its education, receive on its attaining school-age a scholarship tenable at any recognised elementary school in an area to be accurately defined for the purpose of such arrangement. (2) Let the value of such scholarship be based upon and correspond to the total cost per head of elementary education (including both capital and maintenance charges) in the defined area. (3) Let the parent be at full liberty to claim the use of this scholarship at any recognised school, of his own choice, in the defined area."

"I claim," Cardinal Bourne asserted, "that this solution would be just to all alike, to rich and to poor, to those who need definite religious teaching for their children and to those who are indifferent to such teaching; that it would eliminate the religious question by relegating it to its proper place, namely the determination of the parent; that it would restore parents who, owing to want of means, have to-day little or no say in the education of their children, to their rightful position, instead of subjecting them to an unquestioned State control. It would thus gradually build up a new interest and a new sense of responsibility in the mind of every parent. I am told, indeed, by those especially who are engaged in municipal administration, that this plan would be a complete revolution; that it would be, for this reason, impossible in practice. But are we so satisfied with the present condition of elementary education, are we so content with the present relation of *provided* to *non-provided* schools, that a reversion to older ideals, even though such reversion seems almost a revolution, is to be regarded as unworkable? I know that many details will call for prolonged and minute consideration. And I very earnestly hope and plead that that consideration be not refused; but that this scheme, which I have ventured to set forth, be received with goodwill and benevolent investigation."

During the past year, in preparation for the general election, the education question has been raised more vigorously than ever, and Cardinal Bourne has launched a new organisation to bring the claims of the Catholic schools before the constituencies everywhere. It is too early to foresee the results of the new struggle, but two aspects of the question must be noted. The Catholic vote has been enormously increased by the extension of the franchise, and not least by the in-

clusion of women as voters. In Cardinal Manning's time, and even until the War, a very large proportion of the Catholic working-class did not possess the old franchise qualification, and had no direct influence at the polls. They are now enfranchised, and the continual growth of the Catholic population cannot fail to strengthen the Catholic position in the country. On the other hand, however, Catholic interests have lost much in direct representation at Westminster since the disappearance of the Irish Parliamentary Party, who could always be counted upon to bring the pressure of some eighty votes to bear in addition to the Catholic members for English and Welsh and Scottish constituencies. It will be surprising if the recent great extension of the franchise does not produce a considerable increase in the number of Catholic M.P.'s in the elections of 1929. But in the House of Commons as it now stands the number of Catholic M.P.'s is very little larger than it was a few years after the Emancipation Act was carried a hundred years ago, when the Reform Bill of 1832 had not yet brought a large increase in the number of Catholic members for Irish constituencies. The number of Catholic peers in the House of Lords, however, has grown very considerably, partly through the titles conferred upon Catholic lawyers and distinguished public men, but chiefly through the conversion to Catholicism of so many members of the aristocracy.

For various reasons, among which the increase of Catholics in the peerage is not the least important, the social and political influence of Catholics is undoubtedly much greater than it was even a generation ago. The growth in their social influence is reflected in the very remarkable increase in the number of Catholic secondary schools. Mgr. Barnes, in his recent admirable history

of the more famous Catholic secondary schools, pointed out that even his exhaustive study of so large a field omitted a great deal more than it could contain as a survey of the subject. His book is concerned chiefly with the three main groups of famous schools—those conducted by the secular clergy, by the Jesuits, and by the Benedictines, in addition to the oratory school, which was founded by Newman chiefly for the benefit of converts who desired a public school that would have none of the Continental associations of the older colleges. But these well-known schools are only a few even among the schools conducted by the religious communities concerned. His book had to omit the great day schools like St. Francis Xavier's in Liverpool, or St. Ignatius's at Stamford Hill, or the Cardinal Vaughan Memorial School in Kensington, which has made immense strides in the few years since it was established. Nor does it include the work of the Christian Brothers, the Josephite Fathers, the Xaverian Brothers and many other congregations, which in modern times have founded and conducted with brilliant success an always increasing number of educational establishments. The secondary schools for girls are scarcely less numerous, and have developed with similar success. Some idea of the great progress which has been made may be gathered from what Mgr. Barnes notes in his account of the Jesuit foundation at Beaumont in 1861—that whereas by that time " the north was well provided for by Stonyhurst, Ushaw and Ampleforth, the west had Downside and Prior Park ; but within one hundred miles of London in any direction there was nothing but the one school and seminary at St. Edmund's, Old Hall, and that only provided in 1860 for less than a hundred boys." Nowadays the choice of schools all round London and in

most parts of the country is very wide; and in spite of keen competition the schools have no difficulty in keeping up the numbers of their pupils, even though the total of Catholic secondary schools now amounts to some five hundred for England and Wales.

One result of this rapid growth of the secondary schools has been to accelerate the remarkable increase in the number of religious congregations, which a hundred years ago scarcely existed in England. But it is not only the teaching orders which have increased. Some account has been given already of Cardinal Wiseman's efforts in bringing a number of new congregations into England to undertake special works. Several entirely new congregations, of nuns as well as priests, have been founded in England itself during the past eighty years, and have flourished exceedingly. The Franciscans and the Passionists, among the missionary Orders, are now numerous in the country. Contemplative Orders also have developed considerably. The Benedictine monks of Caldey Island, who began as an Anglican community and became Catholics before the War, are among the best known, while the monks of Buckfast Abbey, on Dartmoor, have also obtained a national reputation. The total of the regular clergy has increased until it now exceeds half the number of secular priests, and it is already little short of 1500. Still more rapid has been the growth in the number of communities of women religious, both in the teaching Orders and especially in charitable activities. The list of women's communities in the diocese of Southwark alone now fills nearly two closely-printed pages of the *Catholic Directory*. In the archdiocese of Westminster they fill more than three pages. And in every diocese their activities continue to extend.

Not since Cardinal Manning's time had a Catholic

archbishop given so strong a lead to public opinion on a great political question as when Cardinal Bourne announced his educational programme at the Manchester Congress in 1926. And his appeal has been made under conditions which give more coherence and solidity to the Catholic electors than at any previous period. Through the years of excited political controversy before the War over the Home Rule question, the division between the English and the Irish Catholics had become almost as deep as ever. It probably reached its climax in 1913, when the late Duke of Norfolk, as the premier duke, attended the great rally of the Unionist party at Blenheim to support Sir Edward Carson's campaign against Home Rule, and personally presented Sir Edward with a sword to commemorate the gathering. Feeling in Ireland had begun to run so high that civil war had become a real probability ; for Sir Edward Carson had formed the Ulster Volunteers to resist the operation of Home Rule even if it were carried through Parliament. In Ulster particularly, sectarian passions had become appallingly inflamed by the deliberate organisation of resistance to Home Rule ; and in Belfast, at the very time when the Duke of Norfolk was presenting Sir Edward Carson with this spectacular token of support by the whole Conservative party in England, the most savage attacks were being carried out against Catholic workers in the docks at Belfast. Physical violence, which in some cases did not stop short of barbarous torture—as when a group of Catholic workers were pushed into the heat of furnaces until they dropped from exhaustion—was becoming so frequent that the Catholic labourers were wholly prevented from earning their living, and relief funds had to be opened for them. The agitation proceeded with increasing in-

tensity until the very eve of the War; and it is easy to imagine the bitterness of resentment felt by the Irish Catholics towards English Catholics who identified themselves with the Ulster campaign, which was so openly conducted against the Irish Catholics on sectarian grounds.

The War brought a temporary cessation to the Irish controversy, but the feeling among the younger generation in Ireland of having been betrayed led to a violent reaction against the Irish Parliamentary Party, who were thought to have been fooled. When the Sinn Fein agitation arose within a few years, the old differences between the Irish and English Catholics appeared once again. A clamour was raised in England in favour of enforcing conscription in Ireland; and some of the leading English Catholics associated themselves publicly with it, even to the extent of condemning the Irish bishops for having taken the lead in resisting conscription—at a time when it was certain to produce bloodshed in Ireland and to involve much more military difficulty for the British Government than any benefit it could possibly bring to the conduct of the War. A special meeting of the Catholic Union of Great Britain was held at the end of April 1918, at which a resolution was solemnly passed to the effect that "(1) The Catholic Union have viewed with the deepest regret the action which the Catholic bishops of Ireland have deemed it necessary to take for resisting compulsory service in the present war—action which appears to support a movement for organised disobedience to the law. (2) The Catholic Union is of opinion that it is just and right that the people of every portion of the United Kingdom should take their share in the defence of the Empire, and the liberties of mankind, from the great peril to which they are exposed

through the conflict wantonly forced upon them by a cruel and unscrupulous enemy. (3) The Catholic Union cannot regard without serious misgivings any interference by ecclesiastical authority in questions which are purely temporal and political, and in no way connected with faith and morals. (4) The Catholic Union desires emphatically to dissociate itself from a movement which cannot fail to hamper the full development of the military forces of the Allies, and thereby endanger the cause of humanity. (5) The President of the Catholic Union, Admiral of the Fleet the Lord Walter Kerr, G.C.B., is requested to communicate these resolutions to the public prints and to forward them to his Eminence the Cardinal Secretary of State for submission to his Holiness the Pope."

The situation was extremely peculiar. The Catholic Union of Great Britain was a body with very little representative character, and the brief list of signatories showed it to consist entirely of the Catholic Tory families. Their resolution was at once repudiated publicly by Lord Braye in the *Daily Telegraph*, who protested against the contention of " a few English Catholics calling themselves the Catholic Union of Great Britain that they represent Catholic feeling in Great Britain. In this they are mistaken." The Bishop of Nottingham wrote a long letter to the local newspaper, dissociating himself from the Union's attitude. The Bishop, Chapter, and Catholic Federation of Salford issued an immediate protest ; and private inquiries among the English bishops produced replies ranging from repudiation to indignant protest. Publication of these replies was prevented at the last moment by a discovery that the Catholic Union held an old mandate, issued forty-seven years previously, which had been forgotten but never revoked, to act for certain

purposes and under certain conditions as a representative body for the English Catholics. But in another old Catholic organisation, the Westminster Cathedral Federation, the question of a formal protest against the Catholic Union's resolution was fully discussed. Mr. Edward Eyre and Mr. Lescher were deputed to interview Cardinal Bourne on the matter, and a formal letter from the cardinal was received, which stated that the Catholic Union " represents only the members of the Union." It was indeed merely evidence of panic on the part of a small group of gentlemen who were intimidated by certain articles which had appeared in the *Times* and other newspapers. Sir Mark Sykes, who signed the original resolution, though he had drafted an alternative to it which would have mitigated the offence which it caused, wrote a series of communications to the *Times*, accusing it of threatening a pogrom of all Catholics in England.

Fortunately these indiscretions were quickly forgotten, and great changes took place in the relations between Irish and English Catholics in the following few years. Sir Mark Sykes, by far the most brilliant of the younger English Catholics in the House of Commons, made, in the closing months of the War Parliament, an appeal for conciliation instead of coercion, which was one of the most potent influences in securing the reversal of a disastrous policy in Ireland. In the House of Lords, the convert Lord Braye —who had previously shown exemplary courage in moving that a fair hearing should be given to Pope Benedict XV's appeal for peace by negotiation—reinforced the eloquent appeals of Sir Mark Sykes in the other House. And before long a momentous decision was taken in sending Lord Edmund Talbot—himself one of the signatories of the Catholic Union's

manifesto—to replace Viscount French as Viceroy in Ireland. A special Act of Parliament had to be passed to enable a Catholic to hold the office of Viceroy, and Lord Edmund Talbot was raised to the peerage as Viscount Fitzalan. His own contact in Dublin with Irish Catholics, under conditions of great difficulty and mutual distrust at first, quickly produced an extraordinary change in the atmosphere of Dublin Castle, when Mass was said for the first time in the Viceregal Lodge by the Lord Lieutenant's personal chaplain. Within a few months of his arrival in Ireland, the situation improved remarkably, and the policy of conciliation succeeded in producing a settlement which had never been even sought in the preceding years.

Once the Irish question had been removed from the cockpit of English politics, the whole attitude of Irish Catholics in England became transformed. The situation until then was still very much as Cardinal Manning had visualised and described it in his *Hindrances*, written in 1890, at the very end of his long life. " We have a million of people, priests, and faithful of Irish blood, faith and civilisation in England," he had written, " and they are not only alienated from our laws and legislature, but would upset the ink-bottle over the Statute Book. . . . A capacity for civil and public action needs, of course, a training and education, but it springs from a love of our country. The Irish have this intensely for Ireland, but can hardly have it as yet for England." Up to the eve of the Great War, the excitement produced by the Ulster opposition to Home Rule was sufficient to keep the Irish elements in Great Britain more or less solidly united until Home Rule was won. The United Irish League of Great Britain, under the Presidency of Mr. T. P. O'Connor,

still commanded the allegiance and sympathy of the great majority of the Irish laity and clergy in England. But the War killed the United Irish League as completely as it destroyed the Irish Nationalist Party at Westminster ; and the new generation of Irishmen in England have never recovered, after the War, the old tradition of compact political and social organisation on an Irish basis. The establishment of the Irish Free State removed the last reason for continuing to act separately as an Irish community resident in England. The natural political and social tendencies began to have free play. Many of the former leaders of the United Irish League were led by their natural sympathies to support the Conservative Party, from which they had been compulsorily estranged in the past, while the great majority of the rank and file gravitated quickly into the Labour Party.

But while the artificial unity of the old United Irish League in Great Britain had disappeared, and the Irish Catholics in England began to align themselves according to their natural sympathies or views, the resulting division of their political forces was only symptomatic of their new conception of being an integral part of the population of England. No longer regarding themselves as " exiles," or as a self-conscious separate section of the English population, they have become quite definitely aware of their own numerical strength as a factor in English public life. And gradual developments since the War have only confirmed this growing tendency towards a complete fusion of all the Catholic forces. Looking back now to 1913, it is highly significant to note what a transformation has taken place. The Duke of Marlborough, at whose home the great anti-Irish rally took place at Blenheim, which Irish Catholics found so hard to forget, has himself become

a Catholic in the past few years. The Duke of Norfolk, one of the most pious and sincere Catholics of his generation, died before the War ended, and his heir belongs to a generation which regards the Irish Free State as one of the established Dominions of the British Commonwealth. The Lord Edmund Talbot who became Chief Whip of the Unionist Party in that year, and has become deputy earl-marshal during the minority of the young duke, has himself been the cause of a further stage in the full development of Catholic emancipation, by becoming the first Catholic Viceroy of Ireland, and being one of the most influential agents in the achievement of the Irish peace.

From being generally considered, among the Irish Catholics, as an exclusive and utterly unsympathetic social group, the old Catholic families have in recent years regained something of their old prestige as leaders of the Catholic body, through the personal achievements and devotion of some of their principal members. No man has done more to revive that old prestige than Lord Fitzalan, who, since his retirement from politics, has been the untiring promoter and helper of every deserving Catholic cause. In a younger generation, Captain Blundell, M.P., has had a no less remarkable influence. As one of the principal supporters of the Catholic Social Guild—which that amazingly energetic and zealous Jesuit, Father Plater, brought into being as a living force among the Catholic working-class in the northern cities—Captain Blundell has proved that a Tory Catholic may yield to no one in practical sympathy and assistance to the working-classes. But Captain Blundell's principal achievement in public life has been his successful piloting, through Mr. Baldwin's Parliament, of the Catholic Relief Act of 1927. The details of the Act need not be men-

tioned beyond saying that it abolished a number of miscellaneous statutes which had long been obsolete—such as the prohibition of steeples and bells for Catholic churches, the wearing of vestments by priests out of doors, and the holding of Catholic processions in the streets—while it dealt particularly with the very practical injustice to Catholics of being subject to income tax for their charitable endowments and bequests. Captain Blundell had tried to introduce the measure as a private Bill; and when he failed in the ballot, he found a generous ally in Mr. Dennis Herbert, M.P., who introduced the Bill on his behalf. Lord Fitzalan devoted his great political influence, as a former Chief Whip of the Conservative Party, to forwarding the progress of the Bill; and after several concessions had been made to Protestant prejudice, by eliminating certain high offices from the list of positions which were to be open to Catholics in future, he won the support of the *Times* for his plea that Catholic charities were deprived of the general exemptions from taxation under the Finance Acts. The *Times* declared openly that it was "not creditable" that the Catholic grievances should "go unredressed in a land which justly boasts of civil equality and religious toleration for all." The Government, yielding to pressure which was organised by Lord Fitzalan and Captain Blundell particularly, agreed to grant special facilities for the Bill, and it was duly placed on the Statute Book.

Other significant advances in the legal status of the Church in England have been achieved during Cardinal Bourne's already long rule at Westminster. Lord Braye, whose conversion dated from the years after the Oxford Movement, had devoted himself specially to the question of repealing the obnoxious anti-Catholic

declaration which was imposed upon the sovereign in the time of William III. His efforts to secure its repeal before the accession of King Edward VII were still premature, but he succeeded in obtaining its abolition before King George IV had to make his inaugural declaration to the Houses of Parliament. And a more immediately urgent problem had confronted Cardinal Bourne himself in the first years of his archbishopric. The immensely impressive scenes which took place during the Eucharistic Congress which was held in London in 1908 are not yet forgotten. But a later generation finds it difficult to imagine, under conditions so greatly changed since the War, the intense opposition which was aroused by the intention to carry the Blessed Sacrament in procession through the streets. The extreme Protestants mobilised all their forces, and the Home Office was warned that rioting would be inevitable if the procession took place. A bodyguard of Catholic volunteers enrolled immediately to deal with any insult to the procession, but Mr. Asquith, as Prime Minister, prevented any possibility of a collision by formally prohibiting the procession. The official announcement was conveyed to the Archbishop of Westminster only a day before the procession had been arranged to take place, and Archbishop Bourne—not yet a cardinal—rose to the occasion with a firmness which established his reputation as a national figure, in facing the situation that had been produced. In the twenty years that have since passed, the whole atmosphere has altered : the Kensitites can no longer count upon the sympathies of an ordinary jury ; while the Catholic Church has acquired a growing prestige which increases as fast as the Established Church loses its hold upon the beliefs and traditions of the ordinary Englishman.

Lord Braye

While the immensely impressive scenes in and around Westminster Cathedral at the Eucharist Congress of 1908 drew attention for the first time to the great latent strength of Catholicism in the country, other events and developments have gradually brought the Catholic Archbishop of Westminster more and more prominently before the country as one of its principal public figures. Westminster Cathedral has become more and more one of the principal religious centres in the national life, and on many great occasions of public celebration—during the visits of Catholic kings or princes, or for the obsequies of great Catholic figures—it has attracted enormous gatherings, including the Cabinet Ministers of the day and representatives of the Royal Family. One very striking illustration of its function in the public life of London may be mentioned particularly. Towards the end of the War, when the news of Lord Allenby's entry into Jerusalem was being expected hourly in Whitehall, Sir Mark Sykes, as the Assistant-Secretary to the War Cabinet in charge of Middle-Eastern affairs, had made arrangements to communicate the news immediately to the heads of the Churches as soon as it arrived. And so, before the newspapers had yet received any intimation of the event, the jubilant bells of Westminster Cathedral conveyed to all London the first news that the holy places had been recovered from the Turks. The Church of England failed to rise to the occasion, and indignant questions were asked afterwards in the Anglican papers as to why the cardinal-archbishop had been thus left to announce the news alone. Very much the same thing had happened some thirty years before, when the Anglican Primate had written sadly in his diary his regrets that Cardinal Manning should have been left by the Bishop of London to carry on the

forlorn hope of finding a settlement of the dockers' strike unaided.

Less spectacular than the stirring scenes of the Eucharistic Congress in 1908 was the formal restoration of full canonical status to England three years later, when Archbishop Bourne was made a cardinal, and the work which had been begun by the restoration of the hierarchy under Cardinal Wiseman was solemnly completed. Until then England was still constituted as one province, with the Archbishop of Westminster as the sole metropolitan. By letters apostolic in October 1911, Pius X created three metropolitan provinces instead of one, while reserving only certain privileges and precedence for the Archbishop of Westminster. The Bishops of Liverpool and of Birmingham became archbishops, and the dioceses were divided into three main groups. Only five remained within the province of Westminster, which henceforward was to include the south-eastern part of England, while Birmingham assumed jurisdiction over the midlands and the west, and Liverpool of the north. Five years later a further adjustment was made, when the former diocese of Newport was converted into the new archdiocese of Cardiff, which was to be the metropolitan see of Wales. There have been other minor developments since, indicating the continual expansion of Catholicism in the country—just as the four vicars-apostolic, who had governed the Church in England through the eighteenth century, had been increased to eight in 1840, as a prelude to the formal restoration of the hierarchy ten years later. In 1917 the crowded archdiocese of Westminster was divided, and a new see for Essex was created with the title of Brentwood ; and seven years later the archdiocese of Liverpool was similarly divided to create the new see

of Lancaster. A further development, resulting directly from the War, was the appointment of Bishop Keatinge as Bishop in Ordinary for the British Army and Air Force.[1]

These historic changes, and the legislative concessions which have been granted—in the removal of the Coronation declaration; in the appointment of a Catholic Viceroy in Ireland; and in Captain Blundell's Catholic Relief Act—have accelerated the decisive change in public opinion, which is gradually coming to recognise Catholic demonstrations and religious celebrations as a normal and integral part of the country's life. In the newspapers, especially since the War, there has been a very notable increase in the amount of space devoted to Catholic events and public celebrations. To the more popular papers the picturesque aspect of Catholic ritual has made a special appeal; and pictures and descriptions of Catholic ceremonies and processions are nowadays constantly given as part of the day's news. Certain papers have shown much more inclination than others to give to Catholic events and affairs the prominence which, by journalistic standards, they undoubtedly deserve. The *Times* remains probably the most conspicuous exception in this respect. Large Catholic congresses, which receive very full reports as news in the local newspapers of the districts where they are held, and which by their size and importance should naturally receive at least as

[1] In Scotland the process of development has proceeded more slowly. There were two vicars-apostolic, one for the Highlands and one for the Lowlands, from 1727 onwards. A third, to divide the work of the Lowlands, was appointed in 1827. The hierarchy was not restored in Scotland until 1878, when the Archbishop of St. Andrews and Edinburgh became metropolitan for the sees of Aberdeen, Argyll and the Isles, Dunkeld and Galloway, and the see of Glasgow became an archbishopric.

much prominence as is given, for instance, to similar gatherings of Nonconformists, are even now ignored to a great extent by the *Times*. So spectacular and important an event as the recent consecration of the new Archbishop of Liverpool was only noticed with a few lines by it, while the other leading newspapers gave it its natural value as a national event. In general, however, the newspapers pay much more attention than formerly to Catholic affairs and to the Catholic point of view. The many recent discussions of religious questions which have been published by popular daily and Sunday newspapers have usually given prominence to representative Catholic contributors, and have treated the Catholic point of view in such matters as being of general interest.

For this improvement in the attitude of the secular Press towards the Catholic Church much credit is due to the courageous and virile propaganda conducted over so many years by Mr. Hilaire Belloc and Mr. G. K. Chesterton, who have seldom failed to discuss public questions from a defiantly Catholic standpoint. Among many more recent Catholic writers who have won considerable reputations, the brilliant wit and admirable journalism of Father Ronald Knox has helped to emphasise the growing importance and prestige of Catholic ideas. But much praise is due also to those who have laboured patiently for years to build up a really creditable and influential Catholic Press. Mention has already been made of the astonishing success of the weekly *Universe*, in attaining a circulation which surpasses that ever achieved by any religious paper of any denomination in the country. It has broken new ground by employing the modern methods of presenting news with striking headlines and with abundant photograph illustrations, by an

alert attention to news values, and by sparing no pains or expense in collecting news of Catholic interest at first hand in all parts of the world. The weekly *Catholic Times*, which was formerly the special organ of the Catholics in the north of England, has also improved enormously the pre-War standards of production and of printing, and maintains a high level in its special articles from Catholic contributors, while it presents the week's Catholic news in a comprehensive and detailed survey. The *Tablet*, as a more academic, literary and critical weekly, gives to Catholics the distinction of being able to maintain in existence the only sixpenny review devoted to religious questions. Besides these three principal weekly organs of Catholic opinion, there are numerous smaller reviews which appear every month or every quarter. The *Dublin Review*, as a scholarly and philosophical quarterly, has under its new editor, Mr. Algar Thorold (the convert son of a famous Anglican bishop), regained much of its former prestige and influence. Of the monthly reviews, *Blackfriars*, edited by the Dominicans, and the *Month*, edited by the Jesuits in Farm Street, are the most important. Both maintain a high literary standard, while providing for Catholic writers a welcome platform for the discussion of Catholic affairs. The many other periodicals devoted to special activities or subjects are too numerous to describe, but special praise must be given to the *Christian Democrat* as the monthly organ of the Catholic Social Guild, which contains topical discussions of social and economic questions in the light of Catholic social teaching.

To examine the causes of the change in public opinion would require a much more complete account of the Catholic revival in England in the last fifty years than can be attempted in this book. One of its chief

causes was the very remarkable life's work of that extraordinary priest—formerly an Anglican clergyman—Father Philip Fletcher, who founded the Guild of Our Lady of Ransom, to work for the conversion of England, forty years ago. Those who are familiar in modern times with the religious processions which have become so well known and so popular a feature of the life of many English cities, must find it extremely hard to imagine the conditions in which the Italian Father Dominic Barberi went, at the risk of his life, to undertake his missionary work in the Potteries eighty years ago. In his recently-published *Recollections of a Ransomer*—a memorial volume issued very soon after his death at a great age—Fr. Fletcher has told the story of his own work, and of the development, from the most difficult beginnings, of those innumerable and now frequently recurring processions. They are, perhaps, the most spectacular evidence of the extraordinary revival of Catholic traditions in England in modern times, and of the general recognition of the Catholic Church as one of the few really important religious bodies in the country. The processions of the Guild of Ransom, with their continental parade of devotion to Our Lady, and their emphasis upon the English martyrs in Reformation times, have been the precursors of many other similar demonstrations. Not the least remarkable in quite recent years has been the growing practice of solemn religious celebrations in the ruins of famous abbeys and churches which have been neglected for centuries, and which now are suddenly made the centres of great pilgrimages that attract immense crowds of curious spectators from miles around. Neither Westminster Cathedral itself, nor the Brompton Oratory, with their magnificent ritual and their associations with sacred music and religious

decoration, which have had a most profound influence upon contemporary art, has done so much to familiarise the general public with Catholic life, and to create a sense of the activity and expansion of the Catholic Church in England, as have these very beautiful ceremonies and simple processions in so many places.

One of the most remarkable evidences of Catholic activity in its more modern forms has been the rapid expansion and success of the Catholic Evidence Guild, which was founded only a few years after the War as a systematic organisation to train Catholic debaters for platform speaking, on purely religious matters, in the public places of the cities. The growth of the movement has been astonishing, and its work has been chiefly done by lay speakers, who have first to pass a series of tests in Catholic doctrine and in public speaking before they are allowed to appear on the platforms of the Guild. It is perhaps symptomatic that the Catholic Evidence Guild has more recently attracted the great majority of the type of earnest young Catholics of both sexes who, ten years ago, flocked into the Catholic Social Guild, when Fr. Charles Plater made it a living force among the Catholic trade unionists. But the Catholic Social Guild has by no means lost all momentum since Fr. Plater's death. Its influence has extended continually, and is to be found active in many small study clubs of Catholic working-men in the industrial centres, who are very often not even affiliated to the Catholic Social Guild. Father Plater's successor at the headquarters of the Guild in Oxford, Fr. Leo O'Hea, S.J., has developed the Catholic Workers' College into a well-established institution, which commands the sympathy and co-operation of many University men who are not even Catholics, but who regard the college as being almost

the only institution of its kind in Oxford which is quite genuinely and unquestionably conducted for working-men.

The recent death of Archbishop Keating of Liverpool deprived the Guild of its most powerful supporter, but its work progresses uninterruptedly and with very definite success. It gained a new momentum from the general strik eof 1926, when many Catholic trade unionists received an unexpected and very unwelcome shock at the hands of Cardinal Bourne. Subsequent reflection has convinced the great majority of trade unionists and of their leaders that the general strike was not only a fatal blunder from the point of view of the labour movement, but was so obviously unjustifiable that it was not even protected by the existing trade-union legislation. It was not the least significant action of Cardinal Bourne, as Archbishop of Westminster, that he came out to denounce the general strike as being morally unjustifiable at the very outset of the crisis. Labour leaders and trade unionists who still cherished the memory of Cardinal Manning's intense sympathy with the working-classes were shocked by what appeared to be, on his part, a lack of sympathy with the trade unions after years of industrial depression and widespread unemployment; and the cardinal's intervention caused much heart-burning for long afterwards. But his pronouncement was quite simple; and if it contained no expression of sympathy with the trade unionists who had rallied in support of the miners' union, Cardinal Bourne showed no lack of sympathy in the subsequent negotiations. "There is no moral justification for a strike of this character," he stated quite bluntly. "It is a direct challenge to lawfully constituted authority, and inflicts, without adequate reason, immense discomfort and

injury on millions of our fellow-countrymen. It is, therefore, a sin against the obedience which we owe to God, Who is the source of that authority, and against the charity and brotherly love which are due to our brethren. All are bound to uphold and assist the Government, which is the lawfully constituted authority of the country, and represents, therefore, in its own appointed sphere the authority of God Himself." But on the Sunday which followed the termination of the strike, Cardinal Bourne broadcasted a personal message from the wireless stations asking particularly for prayers that " the toilers in the mining industry, conspicuous for so many brave, unselfish characteristics, should at last receive a solution of their grievous economic difficulties." That the cardinal's attitude towards the general strike provoked at least a temporary feeling of resentment is well known. But Archbishop Keating, in Liverpool, whose connection with the Catholic Social Guild and whose outspoken popular sympathies gained him the reputation of being a conspicuously democratic leader in the Catholic Church, adopted an attitude which only differed from Cardinal Bourne's in the fact that, while condemning the general strike unequivocally, he added expressions of personal sympathy with the trade unions in their difficulty.

The contrast which certain critics tried to draw between the attitude of the Archbishops of Westminster and of Liverpool was rather the outcome of the traditional distrust of London by the provinces. The point has a special importance in regard to the position of Catholics in England, inasmuch as the great majority of the Catholic population is concentrated in the north of England. To that extent, indeed, no true perspective of the present condition of Catholicism in England can be gained from a study which treats Westminster

as the centre of the English Church. The numerical predominance of the northern Catholics has persisted since the Reformation, with curious results upon the history of the Catholic revival. Through the centuries of persecution, it was in Lancashire that the old Catholics remained most numerous; and they survived in sufficient strength in the northern counties generally, to escape that feeling of complete social ostracism which was the chief incentive to the original Catholic committee to agitate for political and social equality. A paradoxical situation resulted, in which the Catholics of Lancashire and Yorkshire, who were always the most considerable section of the Catholic population, were much less active and exercised less influence in the struggle for Catholic emancipation than did the much fewer and more isolated Catholics in the south and west.

Subsequent developments have strangely confirmed the old numerical preponderance of the northern Catholics, both because of the growth of great industrial cities and because the Irish immigrants concentrated naturally upon Liverpool and the towns that were near to it. The annual statistics published in the *Catholic Directory* reveal the facts very strikingly. The total Catholic population of England alone is estimated to be just under two millions; with a further 100,000 in Wales, of whom roughly four-fifths live in or around Cardiff. Of the two millions in England, apart from Wales, roughly three-fifths—or nearly 1,200,000 Catholics—live within the metropolitan jurisdiction of Liverpool; roughly 600,000 live under the jurisdiction of Westminster; and the remaining 200,000 under that of Birmingham. A more detailed examination shows the northern preponderance even more remarkably. By far the largest single concentration of Catholics

is in the archdiocese of Liverpool—which contains no less than 374,000 Catholics, while the small adjacent diocese of Salford contains nearly 300,000 more. Hexham and Newcastle, further north, contains a further 220,000; Lancaster 91,000; Leeds 155,000; and Middlesbrough 56,000. These six northern dioceses combined include very considerably more than half the entire Catholic population of England; while a great proportion of the 79,000 Catholics in the neighbouring diocese of Shrewsbury are located in the northernmost corner of the diocese, which includes Birkenhead and the left bank of the Mersey. Apart from this northern group of dioceses (with which Shrewsbury must be included for purposes of comparison), London alone includes the only other concentration of Catholics in numbers that are at all comparable. The archdiocese of Westminster alone includes roughly 260,000, while Southwark, on the southern side of the Thames, contains 180,000. The only other really large concentration is the extensive diocese of Birmingham, which has a Catholic population of 130,000. Six other dioceses remain, which are nearly all very much larger in area, but in which the Catholic population remains very small and thinly scattered. Northampton, with the largest area of any diocese in England, comprising seven whole counties from the east coast to the borders of Oxfordshire, still has only 20,000 Catholics in all. Plymouth, which combines Cornwall, Devon and Dorsetshire, has the same number; and Clifton, comprising Somersetshire, Wiltshire and Gloucestershire, has the same. Three other dioceses have roughly 50,000 in each—Nottingham, Brentwood and Portsmouth.

The map showing the English counties shaded according to the density of their Catholic population

thus presents a picture illuminating the whole progress of the Catholic revival in the past hundred years. The bare facts can be stated quite simply. The entire east coast from Hull down to London remains virtually an untilled field. Nottingham, comprising five counties, has only 51,000 Catholics, of whom the majority live in Derbyshire, around the industrial areas adjacent to Sheffield. Northampton, with seven counties, and Brentwood, comprising Essex, have between them only 67,000 Catholics in an area which is roughly one-sixth of England ; and of these the great majority are located in the southern end of Essex, where it touches London and the docks along the Thames. The whole south-west of England, comprised in the dioceses of Plymouth, Clifton and Portsmouth, has less than 100,000, of whom again a very large number are to be found in the ports of Plymouth, Southampton and Portsmouth. The whole of Wales consists of two dioceses, of which Menevia has nearly three times the area of Cardiff, but has only 12,000 Catholics as compared with Cardiff's 86,000—who are chiefly grouped around the industries and ports of Cardiff, Swansea and Newport. It is only in the great industrial areas that the Catholics have congregated thickly. Even the large total in the arch-diocese of Birmingham is deceptive ; for it includes the Potteries. The main Catholic population is overwhelmingly in the industrial cities of the north, in the London area, and in the sea-ports of the north-west and south-west ; while the entire west and east coast still await the work of Catholic extension.

One further aspect of the growth of Catholic population must be noted briefly. The development of the Catholic revival in Scotland—where the conditions have been very different, and where the Catholic revival has come later, though it has advanced with still greater

rapidity—is outside the limited scope of this book. But the enormous increase of the Catholic population in Scotland in recent years cannot fail to have an effect on the northern counties of England, as the process of infiltration proceeds from year to year. The great majority of the Catholic population of Scotland is on the Clyde, largely as a result of immigration from Ireland, subsequent to the great influx into Liverpool after the famine in the 'forties. But the process has gone on now for many years, and the Catholic settlers in Scotland have multiplied so much faster than the rest of the population that Glasgow is rapidly becoming a half Catholic city; while in Edinburgh, and other towns also, the Catholics form a substantial proportion of the inhabitants. The tendency has developed so definitely that the Protestant Churches have of late raised many protests and cries of alarm; and the Scottish Churches' Council has prepared a series of statistics which, even if large allowances are made for exaggeration, are very illuminating. They claim that the Catholic population of Scotland has multiplied seven-fold during the past hundred years; whereas the rest of the population has only doubled in the same time. In 1921 the Catholics were already one-eighth of the whole population, as compared with one-thirtieth a century ago. In the decade before the last census, the Catholic population is said to have increased by 82,000, and the rest by only 39,000; while the Catholics are said to have increased from 600,000 in 1921 to 640,000 now. In Glasgow this growth has been most notable. The Scottish Churches' Council claim that it had risen to 23 per cent. of the people in the diocese by 1926, with the result, as a correspondent in the *Times* puts it, that "at the present rate of increase it is only a question of time until the Irish and Roman Catholic

element will largely predominate. In the west of Scotland already it outnumbers the native Scots in certain industrial areas." The natural fertility of the Irish Catholic settlers intensifies the apprehensions of the Protestant Churches, and they point out with dismay that, while the Catholics now account for nearly 30 per cent. of births in Glasgow, the birth-rate of others has been steadily declining. These figures may be very much exaggerated, but the tendency and its significance are undeniable. They only reveal, in a more extreme form, the same tendency which is at work in the English industrial areas where large numbers of Catholics are congregated. And the great increase of Catholics in Scotland is all the more important because of the constant drift southwards among all classes of the population of Scotland. Present indications indeed suggest a comparison with the great missionary movement in St. Columba's time, when Columba and his Irish disciples travelled from Ireland to Scotland, and from there gradually extended the Catholicising of Scotland southwards into England.

Church-building has been the great problem everywhere since the first dawn of the Catholic revival ; and of late its progress has been impeded by the necessity for an always increasing expenditure upon the Catholic schools—without which the rate of " leakage " would quickly exceed the rate of new accessions by conversion. Cardinal Bourne particularly, by his persistent encouragement of the laity to assist in the task of Catholic extension, has done incalculable work in arousing interest in the fortunes of the Church among the mass of the people. That " leakage " continues on a formidable scale, even in towns where many churches exist, is undisputed. But its extent has often been exaggerated, and many Catholics who have become lax

for a time revert afterwards to a loyal and energetic service of the Church. The late Archbishop Keating, who had a long experience of work among the poorer Catholic population in the north, in addition to his earlier experience in the scattered diocese of Northampton, repudiated the idea vehemently in one of his last speeches, pointing to the enormous and continued increase of Catholic schools as well as churches throughout the country, and paying a heartfelt tribute to the sacrifices which had gone to their building and maintenance. The growth of Catholic organisation is sufficiently indicated by the fact that there are now more than 4100 priests in England and Wales, as compared with 1900 fifty years ago or 3000 twenty-five years ago; and over 2100 churches and chapels as against 1100 in 1878, or less than 1600 twenty-five years ago.

New churches and schools being built everywhere on such a scale are, as Archbishop Keating insisted, a sufficient refutation of the view that leakage from year to year counterbalances the steady increase in the Catholic population. The question is nevertheless a cause of constant anxiety. No reliable evidence as to the number of lapsed Catholics can possibly be obtained, though the clergy are usually made aware of their existence before long. The causes of leakage are various, and undoubtedly produce, to some extent, the results which must be expected. In each district the problem differs, and it depends very largely upon the causes which have brought a local Catholic population into existence. It has been most serious in the districts which have been for various reasons more backward in Catholic development. In East Anglia, for instance, and other thinly-populated districts where isolated Catholic families found their way during the great Irish

immigration, there have been many cases of a complete loss of contact with Catholicism merely because there was no means of providing for Catholic worship or for Catholic schools. But the same districts often provide instances of isolated Catholic families who have kept the faith, and whose perseverance and sacrifices ultimately make it possible for Catholic chapels to be built. A similar difficulty arises often in mixed marriages, when they involve departure to places in which no Catholic church or school yet exists; and often enough in such circumstances the Catholic wife or husband ceases to be a practising Catholic, while the children grow up without any religious instruction. In the cities, where churches and schools are usually available, the causes of leakage are different. Working-men and women thrown among non-Catholics who practice no religion frequently become indifferent about their own religious practice, and lose touch with the Church for a time; but they usually return to it when the extension of churches and schools has developed further and more priests are able to attend to those who have lapsed.

In earlier generations there was a very hostile feeling towards Catholics in many places, which required great courage and constancy in those who persevered in their religion at the risk of losing their employment. But the history of Catholic expansion during the past hundred years is a magnificent testimony to the fidelity of the Catholic working-classes. In more recent years the provision of meeting-places and societies to bring Catholics together has been vigorously developed, and has undoubtedly prevented a great deal of leakage. For a time the anti-religious character of the earlier Socialist movement created a further problem; but the coherence and strength of the Catholic Church has

been shown in the elimination of any anti-religious character from the trade-union movement. The modern Labour Party presents a spectacle which is incomprehensible to most continental observers, it being largely supported by a loyal Catholic following, while many of its leaders are practising Catholics. Probably the most serious present cause of leakage is the growing practice of family limitation among all classes and the acute difficulty created for those who have large families, by the shortage of houses, and the smallness of the new type of house. In Scotland the prevalence of " birth-control " propaganda has been so serious that two years ago the whole hierarchy found it necessary to issue a joint pastoral letter reminding their people of the Church's uncompromising condemnation of artificial birth prevention. But while these difficulties press most severely upon the Catholics who are scattered through districts in which their numbers are few, the Catholic population is so much concentrated in relatively small areas that a definitely Catholic life and Catholic atmosphere have been created, which assists the clergy in discovering and in winning back those who have lapsed, and reinforces their teaching in moral questions.

It would be a mistake, however, to regard the actual distribution of Catholics in England and Wales as indicating any permanent limitation upon the future extension of the Church. In general, the main Catholic centres are already fairly well provided with churches and chapels, and the problem of building new churches as the population increases is met without any great difficulty from local resources. In recent years, however, the much more difficult task of church extension in the districts which have hitherto been unprovided, and where the Catholics are few and widely scattered, has been undertaken with remarkable energy and

resourcefulness. The work of conducting missions among non-Catholics has been the special care of the Catholic Missionary Society founded by Cardinal Vaughan, and now ably conducted by his nephew. It has at different times enlisted among its members many of the ablest and most gifted preachers in the country, of whom the newly appointed Archbishop of Liverpool, Dr. Downey, was the most successful missioner. The Society's work has been greatly assisted by the enterprising idea of having a motor chapel, which carries the missioners into many remote places and provides them with a platform as well as facilities for saying Mass. Similar work, by different methods, is the principal object of the Catholic Evidence Guild. And the co-operation of both is given to Father Philip Fletcher's Guild of Our Lady of Ransom, with its great number of local processions, and its more recent and very important activities in founding the Church Extension Society, to provide a central fund to assist church-building in the more backward dioceses.

The more recent church-building presents one of the most interesting phases of the Catholic revival, and promises a really remarkable development on lines that are very distinct from the work of a generation ago. Experience has shown everywhere since the War that once a Catholic chapel has been built, converts gather to it almost as quickly as the scattered Catholic population whom it is primarily intended to serve. The result is to produce in new districts a very different type of congregation to that which fills the churches in the industrial areas. This new movement is spreading chiefly in the suburban areas around London and the other great cities, in the seaside resorts, and in general wherever new towns and suburbs have arisen in the great changes of population since the War. Into

the new residential centres a small proportion of Catholics always penetrates among the rest, and it becomes necessary before long to provide some sort of local chapel or church for their needs. Usually one or two parishioners, more prosperous than the rest, provide a sufficient sum to form the nucleus for a church-building fund, and the remainder is collected by bazaars, garden fêtes, private donations or grants from any funds that may be in a position to help. So the small new parishes are formed, in which young priests have to undertake missionary work under conditions of almost indescribable discouragement, without money, harassed by debts, and faced by loneliness and lack of sufficient scope for their energies. But the work has been proceeding on these lines with quite astonishing results : and the new churches bring converts, among whom there are frequently some who are able to give substantial assistance to the struggling finances of a new parish. Before long, if the district develops rapidly, a second chapel of ease becomes a necessity for those who live at a distance from the existing one ; and a network of small churches—each of which forms a centre of Catholic activity and attracts new converts—gradually spreads through counties in which Catholics have hitherto been too few for any effective organisation, with the result that many, in the more remote places, have in the past lost all contact with the Church. The records of the annual *Catholic Directory* reveal with what rapidity development has more recently been taking place on these lines, and how many new Catholic centres have been established since the War, especially in the counties where scarcely any existed before. That, in fact, has been the most significant feature of the Catholic revival in the past ten years, and Cardinal Bourne has been very closely associated with it. It is

too early yet to foresee what the full results of such a movement may be. But in a time when the great majority of English people have lost confidence in the Established Church, and when the Church of England is not only divided as to its teaching, and has been shown to be as dependent as ever upon Parliament for the exercise of its ecclesiastical authority, it may well be that a disillusioned generation of Anglicans and of agnostics will turn towards the Catholic Church with no less dramatic results than those which followed the Oxford Movement eighty years ago.

Should that happen, even on a fairly small scale, throughout the country—and there is evidence that it is happening to some extent already—then not only will the Catholic Church in England receive a very considerable accession of converts, but the character of the Church, in its present stage of transition, must be expected to alter appreciably. Fifty years back, Manning regarded the Catholic Church in England as being virtually an Irish Church ; whereas a hundred years ago it was still entirely dominated by the old Catholic families in England who had kept the faith since the Reformation days. Already its temporarily Irish character is rapidly disappearing, through the influence of intermarriage and of the continual stream of English converts. But the Church still remains overwhelmingly concentrated in the industrial areas, where the descendants of Irish immigrant labourers are still congregated. The latest tendency is for the Church to extend year by year further into the untilled fields where the Irish immigrants never penetrated, and where the converts and the children of converts form a much larger proportion of the Catholic community. If that tendency develops, as there is every reason to believe that it will develop, then the balance of the

Catholic population will shift gradually away from the industrial areas, with their own tradition that has arisen through the operation of special causes ; and the Church in England will become always more definitely an English branch of the Roman Catholic Church, renewing the long and illustrious tradition which was overshadowed by the Reformation, and which has been gradually reviving in the hundred years since the passing of Catholic emancipation.

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